





## ABSTRACT

### STRATIFICATION AND ALIENATION

by Richard A. Brymer

This thesis sought to test the relationship of social stratification to alienation, particularly average status, status inconsistency and social mobility and their bearing upon alienation. The Durkheim-Merton model of anomie was developed as an explanatory variable for the observed relationship of average status to anomie and alienation, i.e., socially structured discrepancies between goal attainment and means for achieving such goals. This rationale was then logically extended to include status inconsistency and social mobility, and hypotheses to this effect were developed. These hypotheses were then tested on a random sample of the United States gathered for this purpose in the fall of 1963. Multivariate analytic procedures were used to analyze the relationship of average status, social mobility and status inconsistency to alienation and its various dimensions, e.g., powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, future orientation, and subjective assessment of one's present standing in the "goal" attainment process.

Briefly, this analysis revealed the expected relationship between average status and all forms of alienation except social isolation, but no relationship between status inconsistency, social mobility and alienation. Because of these

Brymer

findings, it was concluded that the Durkheim-Merton discrepancy rationale is not valid, and that some other theory must be developed to handle the empirically observed relationship of average status to alienation. An attempt at developing such a theory was begun, relying primarily upon the work of Herbert Gans on community organization, and the studies of Gideon Sjöberg, Richard Brymer and Buford Farris on bureaucracy and class.



**STRATIFICATION AND ALIENATION**

**By**

**Richard A. Brymer**

**A THESIS**

**Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Department of Sociology**

**1967**

The Five

was supported

University, t

tral Service

Frederick Wa

Robert L. St

September, 19

contribution

of other men

and Irjo Lit

of the Five

Because m

author left

also be give

and its dire

to Wesley's

done at Wesl

dissertation

Health, and

Because

the result

ement is

persons, in

46073  
9-10-64

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Five Nations Project, on which this thesis was based, was supported by the International Programs of Michigan State University, the U. S. Public Health Service, and the Agricultural Service of Michigan State University. Its directors were Frederick Waisanen, Hideya Kumata, and Charles P. Loomis; Robert L. Stewart was Acting Director from September, 1963, to September, 1964. The author would like to acknowledge their contribution to this dissertation, as well as the contributions of other members of his committee. These include Donald Olmsted and Yrjo Littunen, the latter directing the Finnish Component of the Five Nations Project.

Because much of the last chapter was written after the author left the Five Nations Project, acknowledgement must also be given to Wesley Community Centers, San Antonio, Texas and its director, Buford Farris. A special thanks is given to Wesley's Research Consultant, Gideon Sjeberg. Research done at Wesley Community Centers (which contributed to this dissertation) was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, and by the Hegg Foundation of the University of Texas.

Because this dissertation is—as is much of modern sociology—the result of a conglomerate of various enterprises, acknowledgement is also made to all of the other known and unknown persons, including family, friends, co-workers, students, etc.

The first part of the report is a general introduction to the study. It discusses the importance of the research and the objectives of the study. The second part of the report is a detailed description of the methodology used in the study. This includes a discussion of the data sources, the sampling method, and the statistical techniques used to analyze the data. The third part of the report is a presentation of the results of the study. This includes a discussion of the findings and their implications for the field of study. The final part of the report is a conclusion and a list of references.

The methodology section of the report is particularly detailed. It describes the data sources, the sampling method, and the statistical techniques used to analyze the data. The results section of the report is also very detailed. It presents the findings of the study and discusses their implications for the field of study. The conclusion section of the report is a brief summary of the findings and a list of references.

The report is a comprehensive study of the topic. It provides a detailed description of the methodology used in the study and presents the results of the study in a clear and concise manner. The report is a valuable contribution to the field of study and is highly recommended for anyone interested in the topic.

I. STATEMENT  
 Intro  
 Revi  
 D  
 M  
 S  
 T  
 Revi  
 H  
 C  
 Summ  
 Revi  
 O  
 I  
 R  
 S  
 Soci  
 S  
 S  
 R  
 Hypo  
 II. OPERAT  
 Intr  
 Aver  
 C  
 E  
 I  
 E  
 A  
 Soci  
 Alie  
 I  
 S  
 A  
 S  
 Life  
 Stud  
 Sam  
 Ana  
 I  
 Ope

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND THEORETICAL POSITION . . . . .	1
Introduction . . . . .	1
Review of Anomie Theory . . . . .	5
Durkheim . . . . .	5
Merton . . . . .	8
Societal Anomie . . . . .	12
The Subjectivists . . . . .	14
Review of Alienation Theory . . . . .	17
History and Early Usage . . . . .	18
Current Alienation Theory . . . . .	20
Summary of Alienation-Anomie Theory . . . . .	31
Review of Empirical Alienation-Anomie Literature . . . . .	33
Operationalisations of Alienation-Anomie . . . . .	33
Inter-Correlations of Alienation Scales . . . . .	41
Relationships of Alienation to Other Variables . . . . .	44
Summary . . . . .	47
Social Mobility and Status Inconsistency . . . . .	50
Social Mobility . . . . .	50
Status Inconsistency . . . . .	52
Relationship of Average Status, Social Mobility and Status Inconsistency . . . . .	58
Hypotheses . . . . .	65
II. OPERATIONALIZATION OF MAJOR CONCEPTS . . . . .	75
Introduction . . . . .	75
Average Status and Status Incensistency . . . . .	75
Occupation . . . . .	77
Education . . . . .	79
Income . . . . .	79
Ethnicity . . . . .	80
Average Status-Status Inconsistency . . . . .	81
Social Mobility . . . . .	82
Alienation . . . . .	84
Introduction . . . . .	84
Student Sample . . . . .	85
Adult Sample . . . . .	88
Sub-Sample of Achieved Sample . . . . .	91
Life Satisfaction and Future Outlook . . . . .	92
Study Context . . . . .	94
Sample . . . . .	96
Analysis . . . . .	99
Introduction . . . . .	99
Procedures . . . . .	102
Operational Hypotheses . . . . .	106

### III. ANALYSIS

Introd

Par

Sec

Rel

First

Rel

Rel

Rel

Rel

Rel

Second

Ave

St

Soc

Third

Ln

Ave

St

Soc

Concl

### IV. CONCLUS

Criti

Sugge

Alien

Socia

Ave

Patho

Concl

Res

### BIBLIOG

	Page
III. ANALYSIS . . . . .	111
Introduction . . . . .	111
First Order Relationships . . . . .	113
Second Order Relationships . . . . .	118
Relationship of Dependent Variables . . . . .	124
First Order Relationships . . . . .	133
Relationship of Average Status to Dependent Variables . . . . .	133
Relationship of Status Inconsistency to Dependent Variables . . . . .	137
Relationship of Social Mobility to Dependent Variables . . . . .	145
Second Order Controlled Relationships . . . . .	151
Average Status Relationships . . . . .	151
Status Inconsistency Relationships . . . . .	162
Social Mobility Relationships . . . . .	167
Third Order Control Relationships . . . . .	183
Introduction . . . . .	183
Average Status . . . . .	185
Status Inconsistency . . . . .	192
Social Mobility . . . . .	205
Conclusions . . . . .	218
IV. CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	222
Critiques of Anomie Theory . . . . .	223
Suggested Theory . . . . .	224
Alienation and Anomie . . . . .	232
Social Mobility, . . . . .	
Average Status and Status Inconsistency . . . . .	236
Pathological Behaviors . . . . .	240
Conclusions and Proposals for Future Research . . . . .	243
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	248





# LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
I. 1	Inter-Correlations of Types of Alienation . . . .	42
2	Inter-Correlations of Various Alienation Measures	42
II. 1	Distributions and Collapse Limits for Categories of Average Status and Status Inconsistency . .	83
2	Representativeness of Sample for Race . . . . .	98
3	Representativeness of Sample for Size of Place .	98
4	Representativeness of Sample for Income . . . . .	99
III. 1	Average Status by Status Inconsistency, Using Full Ten-Value Range . . . . .	114
1a	Average Status by Status Inconsistency, for Collapsed Values of Average Status and Status Inconsistency . . . . .	116
2	Average Status by Social Mobility . . . . .	116
3	Status Inconsistency by Social Mobility . . . . .	118
4	Average Status by Social Mobility at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	121
5	Average Status by Status Inconsistency at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	121
6	Status Inconsistency by Social Mobility at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	123
7	Present Standing by Powerlessness . . . . .	126
8	Present Standing by Social Isolation . . . . .	126
9	Present Standing by Normlessness . . . . .	127
10	Present Standing by Powerlessness-Normlessness .	128
11	Future Orientation by Powerlessness . . . . .	130
12	Future Orientation by Social Isolation . . . . .	130
13	Future Orientation by Normlessness . . . . .	130
14	Future Orientation by Powerlessness-Normlessness .	131
15	Average Status by Powerlessness . . . . .	134
16	Average Status by Social Isolation . . . . .	134
17	Average Status by Normlessness . . . . .	135
18	Average Status by Powerlessness-Normlessness . .	136
19	Average Status by Present Standing . . . . .	138
20	Average Status by Future Orientation . . . . .	140
21	Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness . . . . .	140
22	Status Inconsistency by Social Isolation . . . .	141
23	Status Inconsistency by Normlessness . . . . .	141
24	Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness-Normlessness	142
25	Status Inconsistency by Present Standing . . . .	143
26	Status Inconsistency by Future Orientation . . .	145
27	Social Mobility by Powerlessness . . . . .	146

File

28 Social

29 Social

30 Social

31 Social

32 Social

33 Avera

of

34 Avera

Lev

35 Avera

of

36 Avera

at

37 Avera

Le

38 Avera

Le

39 Avera

of

40 Avera

Le

41 Avera

o

42 Avera

a

43 Avera

I

44 Avera

Y

45 St.

46 St.

47 St.

48 St.

49 S

50 S

51 S

52 S

Table	Page
28 Social Mobility by Social Isolation . . . . .	146
29 Social Mobility by Normlessness . . . . .	146
30 Social Mobility by Powerlessness-Normlessness . . . . .	147
31 Social Mobility by Present Standing . . . . .	148
32 Social Mobility by Future Orientation . . . . .	149
33 Average Status by Powerlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	152
34 Average Status by Social Isolation at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	152
35 Average Status by Normlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	153
36 Average Status by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	154
37 Average Status by Present Standing at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	155
38 Average Status by Future Orientation at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	155
39 Average Status by Powerlessness at Each Level of Social Isolation . . . . .	156
40 Average Status by Social Isolation at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	156
41 Average Status by Normlessness at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	157
42 Average Status by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	158
43 Average Status by Present Standing at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	159
44 Average Status by Future Orientation at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	159
45 Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	163
46 Status Inconsistency by Social Isolation at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	163
47 Status Inconsistency by Normlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	164
48 Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness-Normless- ness at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	165
49 Status Inconsistency by Present Standing at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	166
50 Status Inconsistency by Future Orientation at Each Level of Social Mobility . . . . .	166
51 Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	168
52 Status Inconsistency by Social Isolation at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	169



Table		Page
53	Status Inconsistency by Normlessness at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	170
54	Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	171
55	Status Inconsistency by Present Standing at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	172
56	Status Inconsistency by Future Orientation at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	172
57	Social Mobility by Powerlessness at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	173
58	Social Mobility by Social Isolation at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	173
59	Social Mobility by Normlessness at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	174
60	Social Mobility by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	175
61	Social Mobility by Present Standing at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	176
62	Social Mobility by Future Orientation at Each Level of Status Inconsistency . . . . .	176
63	Social Mobility by Powerlessness at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	177
64	Social Mobility by Social Isolation at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	178
65	Social Mobility by Normlessness at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	179
66	Social Mobility by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	180
67	Social Mobility by Present Standing at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	181
68	Social Mobility by Future Orientation at Each Level of Average Status . . . . .	181
69	Average Status by Powerlessness Means with Controls for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility . . . . .	186
70	Average Status by Social Isolation Means with Controls for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility . . . . .	187
71	Average Status by Normlessness Means with Controls for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility . . . . .	188
72	Average Status by Powerlessness-Normlessness Means with Controls for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility . . . . .	189
73	Average Status by Present Standing Means with Controls for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility . . . . .	190



Table		Page
74	Average Status by Future Orientation Means with Controls for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility . . . . .	191
75	Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness Means with Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility . . . . .	193
76	Status Inconsistency by Social Isolation Means with Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility . . . . .	195
77	Status Inconsistency by Normlessness Means with Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility . . . . .	197
78	Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness-Normless- ness with Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility . . . . .	199
79	Status Inconsistency by Present Standing Means with Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility . . . . .	201
80	Status Inconsistency by Future Orientation Means with Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility . . . . .	203
81	Social Mobility by Powerlessness Means with Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency . . . . .	206
82	Social Mobility by Social Isolation Means with Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency . . . . .	208
83	Social Mobility by Normlessness Means with Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency . . . . .	210
84	Social Mobility by Powerlessness-Normlessness Means with Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency . . . . .	212
85	Social Mobility by Present Standing Means with Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency . . . . .	214
86	Social Mobility by Future Orientation Means with Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency . . . . .	216

↑ . . . . .

↑ . . . . .

↑ . . . . .

↑ . . . . .

↑ . . . . .

↑ . . . . .

↑ . . . . .

. . . . .

. . . . .

↑ . . . . .

↑ . . . . .

↑ . . . . .

↑ . . . . .

Figure

1

2

3

4

5

6

1



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
II. 1	Derivation of Occupation Scores . . . . .	78
2	Derivation of Education Scores . . . . .	79
3	Derivation of Income Scores . . . . .	80
4	Derivation of Ethnicity Scores . . . . .	81
5	Dean Items Used in Operationalizing Alienation . . . . .	86
6	Lack of Independence in Two Multi-Variate Tables Using the Same Controls . . . . .	105
III. 1	Two Tables Illustrating Similarity of Various Control Variables Arrangement .	184



## CHAPTER I

### STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND THEORETICAL POSITION

#### Introduction

In this thesis, our basic problem is to test the effect of stratification upon alienation. Generally, it will test an extension of the Durkheim-Merton rationale for the development of anomie. Even more generally, there is a concern with the effect of stratification upon individual behavior. Our interest in this area stems from the convergence of two areas of interest: one primarily theoretical, and the second primarily a "hunch" based upon the observation of patterns in empirical materials.

Theoretically, we have an interest in anomie and alienation, but more specifically, we are interested in the rationale that underlies the relationship of social structure to alienation and anomie. This basic rationale stems from Durkheim, via Merton, and argues that anomie is created when a discrepancy occurs between that which an individual has been led to expect, and that which he actually obtains. Anomie, in turn, leads to the creation of various types of consequences or adaptations—nearly all pathological or socially problematic.

From our empirical 'hunch' source, we are concerned with the apparent overriding influence that social class has upon a large number of these quasi-pathological variables, including aliena-

tion. That is  
gone to devel  
it is not nec  
of lower-clas  
explanatory d  
behavior.

Again fro  
other strati  
sistency, e  
few of thes  
that lower  
may have s  
has not ye  
bility (no  
retical a

The pu  
sources c  
'discrep  
Durkheim  
tion to  
that th  
Durkhe  
social  
ale fo  
behav  
is no  
at e

tion. That is, it would appear that lower-class people are more prone to develop pathological behaviors than are others. Though it is not necessarily cited and utilized in these myriad studies of lower-class behavior, anomie theory has often been used as an explanatory device for the lower-class predilection for deviant behavior.

Again from an empirical source, we have noted that there are other stratification variables—social mobility and status inconsistency, especially—which also have been found related to a few of these more or less pathological behaviors. It would appear that lower classness and social mobility and status inconsistency may have something in common. Although the 'anomie' rationale has not yet been applied to status inconsistency and social mobility (nor tested), it would appear to be justified from a theoretical and an empirical stance.

The purpose of this thesis will be to conjoin these two sources of interest, in an attempt to extend and test the basic 'discrepancy rationale of anomie' developed by Merton and Durkheim. Specifically, we will test the relationship of alienation to status inconsistency and social mobility on the grounds that they are similar to social class, in that they exemplify the Durkheim-Merton rationale. If, in fact, status inconsistency and social mobility are related to alienation, then the anomie rationale for the relationship of stratification to 'quasi-pathological' behaviors is again validated and made more plausible. If there is no relationship, then we are left with the problem of seeking an explanation for the already proven relationship between

social class

variant beha

In order

nd to this

briefly, in

arguments,

maintain an

Chapter II

developed,

In more

First,

between

attend to

and anomi

between

conditio

theories

conditio

are int

Seco

attemp

in ter

conse

effor

them

many

theo

social class and anomie, as well as between social class and deviant behavior.

In order to accomplish this task, several steps are necessary, and to this end we present an outline of the rest of the thesis. Briefly, in Chapter I we shall present our theoretical and logical arguments, ending with a statement of hypotheses. Chapter II will contain an operationalization of these hypotheses for test. Chapter III will contain our analysis of the empirical materials developed, and Chapter IV will contain our conclusions.

In more detail, Chapter I will proceed as follows:

First, we shall review anomie theory as it has developed with Durkheim and been extended by Merton. In this discussion, we shall attend to the distinction between anomie as a societal condition, and anomie—or anomy—as an individual condition. Although Durkheim and Merton focused ostensibly upon anomie as a societal condition, there is, we believe, a rationale implicit in their theories which can be used to account for anomia as an individual condition. To this end, we shall also review those writers who are interested in anomia as an individual condition.

Second, we shall review and discuss alienation theory in an attempt to illustrate a convergence between anomia and alienation, in terms of their general definitions, as well as antecedents and consequences. This does not constitute an essentially original effort, as many sociologists consider alienation and anomia to be identical or synonymous terms for the same phenomena. Although many theorists view alienation as having a slightly different theoretical tradition, we shall treat alienation separately, and

then attempt to

Third, we shall

studies of bot

demonstrate th

and anomia at

the theoretica

alienation an

these variabl

and anomia.

these concern

with consequ

we shall be

consistent r

social class

Fourth, a

extend the

social mobil

first demon

considering th

then we sha

status inco

strate that

also been

In the

our conten

hypotheses

mobility a



then attempt to illustrate a convergence.

Third, we shall review the literature concerned with empirical studies of both anomia and alienation. We shall (a) attempt to demonstrate that there is considerable overlap between alienation and anomia at the empirical and operational levels, as well as at the theoretical levels; and (b) explore the relationships of alienation and anomia to other variables in order to show that these variables are stably and consistently related to alienation and anomia. Generally, there will be two orders of studies; those concerned with antecedent conditions and those concerned with consequences of alienation-anomia. In the former instance, we shall be particularly concerned with the very stable and consistent relationship between alienation and anomia, and social class—however operationalized.

Fourth, and following the above discussion, we shall then extend the Durkheim-Merton rationale to two additional areas—social mobility and status inconsistency. In so doing, we shall first demonstrate the theoretical and logical rationale for considering these two variables as examples of the D-M rationale; then we shall present a review of the empirical literature for status inconsistency and social mobility, in which we will demonstrate that they are related to a series of variables which have also been termed possible consequences of alienation.

In the fifth and final section, we shall present a summary of our contentions so far, and on this basis, suggest a series of hypotheses stipulating a relationship of average status, social mobility and status inconsistency to alienation.

British

Amos

British

Integrati

Society,

Integrati

a simple

age and

similar

to commo

turned

Industr

labor a

persons

theref

mutual

or org

mutual

socio

of in

tenor

dence

grati

deve

deac

## Review of Anomie-Anomia Theory

Durkheim

Anomie theory began, in the sociological tradition, with Durkheim and his interest in the mechanisms of societal unity and integration. In his classic work, The Division of Labor in Society, Durkheim distinguishes between two general types of integration—mechanical and organic.<sup>1</sup> In simple societies, with a simple division of labor, persons are differentiated only by age and sex and have a great deal in common. Because of this similarity, a form of integration can be achieved by reference to common ideas, interests, etc. This type of integration is termed mechanical and is characteristic of simple societies. In industrial societies, however, with their complex division of labor and attendant specialisation of function and personnel, persons are not likely to have a great deal in common, and, therefore, a different form of integration develops, based upon mutual interdependence. The development of this interdependence—or organic integration—requires a period of lengthy contact and mutual adjustment of groups which is not required in simple societies. It would seem that Durkheim regarded the development of integration in industrial societies as more problematic and tenuous than in simple societies. This notion is further evidenced by Durkheim's attention to the forms of abnormal integration (or specifically, abnormal divisions of labor) which may develop—particularly in industrial societies. It is in the description of one of these abnormal forms that the use of the

term anomie f

in which there

interdependence

not play a s

butheim did

entire socie

In his vo

structural e

term anomie

of four typ

creases in

istic, egot

the suicide

that they

side. In

emphasis v

considere

Drinker

greedy an

the pres

far beyo

natural

attaina

say soc

the ne

achiev

norms

term anomie first occurs. Anomie was a form of division of labor in which there had not been extended contact, so that mutual interdependence had not developed. Although the term anomie did not play a significant part in this work, it is clear that Durkheim did use it to characterize and refer to a state of the entire society or group.

In his volume, Suicide, Durkheim attempts to formulate social structural explanations of variations in suicide rates; here the term anomie becomes significant.<sup>2</sup> In this volume, anomie is one of four types of abnormal societal conditions which lead to increases in suicide rates. Frequently these terms--anomic, fatalistic, egoistic and altruistic--have been used to characterize the suicide itself, although it would seem that Durkheim intended that they refer to the social conditions which produced the suicide. In order to understand Durkheim's use of anomie, his emphasis upon the functions of norms in society must also be considered.

Durkheim viewed human nature as essentially uncontrolled, greedy and avaricious. Man was a biological creature who, without the presence of external controls, would seek to fulfill his needs far beyond the point of simple satisfaction. "Human activity naturally aspires beyond assignable limits and sets itself unattainable goals."<sup>3</sup> With this view of human nature, Durkheim saw society (in particular, its normative structure) as furnishing the necessary controls. Norms specify the goals that man can achieve, and what he must do to achieve them. By specifying goals, norms both limit and justify man's activity. In addition, the

presence of the  
about the future  
others. "Each  
condition, and  
the normal re  
equilibrium of  
a few mishaps  
provided a  
which sets  
and thereby  
Dunheim ev  
legitimate  
of referen  
A disr  
the meani  
utes to a  
has pres  
rapidly  
of affa  
tration  
the an  
that a  
Du  
depre  
and  
live  
one

presence of these norms allows the individual to make predictions about the future behavior of others, and himself in relation to others. "Each person is then, at least . . . in harmony with his condition, and desires only what he may legitimately hope for as the normal reward of his activity. He has the essentials. The equilibrium of his happiness is secure because it is defined, and a few mishaps cannot disconcert him."<sup>4</sup> The normative structure provided a stable frame of reference and meaning for human beings, which sets their goals, defines what must be done to achieve them, and thereby establishes an orderly, predictable endeavor. Durkheim even suggested that poverty, as long as it is viewed as legitimate and according to the norms, provides a meaningful frame of reference.<sup>5</sup>

A disruption of the normative structure, however, also disrupts the meaningfulness and predictability of human life, and contributes to a state of tension, confusion, and loss of orientation. Man presumably reverted to his original state, and his aspirations rapidly rose beyond any expectations of fulfillment. This state of affairs—the absence of norms—which produced continual frustration, anxiety, pointlessness, etc., was termed anomie. Further, the anomic situation was seen as intolerable for any length, so that anomic suicide resulted.

Durkheim saw many sources of anomie in industrial society—depression, inflation, unexpected prosperity, divorce, and upward and downward mobility. The general mechanism which underlies these diverse situations is that the norms, as guides specifying what one must do in order to achieve a certain goal, no longer operate.

In the case of  
traditional no  
case of prosper  
normally expect  
crepancy betw  
tively preser  
legitimacy an  
useful, and a  
regulation at

In summary,  
explanatory  
influenced t  
pr so, as e  
ations in th  
His basic re  
expectation  
ancies were  
e.g., mobil

#### Merton

Robert  
and Anomie  
of anomie.  
explain m  
and gener  
deviant  
norms, b  
Merton w



In the case of an economic depression, when one follows the traditional norm, one no longer gets the expected goal. In the case of prosperity, one obtains far more than he would have normally expected. In both cases, there is a considerable discrepancy between the expectations and attainments that were normatively prescribed. This discrepancy casts doubt upon both the legitimacy and the efficacy of the norm itself. It is no longer useful, and apparently discarded. But without it, there is no regulation at all, so that human life eventually becomes confused.

In summary, Durkheim developed the concept of anomie as an explanatory device which operated at the societal level, and influenced the suicide rate. His main concern was not with anomie per se, as experienced by the individual, but more with the variations in the suicide rate and the social conditions themselves. His basic rationale for the individual was a discrepancy between expectations and achievements, and particularly as these discrepancies were produced by changes in an individual's social position, e.g., mobility, divorce, etc.

### Merton

Robert K. Merton, in his seminal article, "Social Structure and Anomie," has both extended and generalized Durkheim's theory of anomie.<sup>6</sup> He has extended it in the sense that he sought to explain many forms of 'deviant' behavior rather than just suicide, and generalized it in that the sources of anomie and consequent deviant behavior are seen, not as consequences of the breakdown of norms, but as inherent in the social structure itself. In a way, Merton was even more sociologically oriented than Durkheim, for he

did not make t  
me that Durkh  
will as his de  
ture, i.e., an  
is a socially

In develop  
between cultur  
the discrepan  
organized set  
to members of  
cultural stru  
the definiti  
structure is  
in which the  
only implic  
national nor  
culturally  
structure a  
cultural em  
or the degr  
then, is w  
particular  
norms and  
of the gro  
condition  
affected  
they have

did not make the assumptions about the "biological" nature of man that Durkheim did. Rather, he saw man's aspirations, as well as his deviant behavior, as a product of the social structure, i.e., anomie not as a reversion to a "natural state", but as a socially induced product.

In developing his theory of anomie, Merton distinguishes between cultural and social structure, with anomie as a product of the discrepancy between them. Cultural structure is ". . . that organized set of normative values governing behavior which is common to members of a designated society or group."<sup>7</sup> That is, the cultural structure contains the values and goals of the society—the definitions of things that man must strive for. Social structure is the ". . . organized set of social relationships in which the members of the society or social groups are variously implicated."<sup>8</sup> Thus, social structure is the set of institutional norms or means which is specified in order to reach the culturally defined goals. The social structure and the cultural structure are, however, independent of each other and ". . . the cultural emphasis placed upon certain goals varies independently or the degree of emphasis upon institutionalized means."<sup>9</sup> Anomie, then, is ". . . a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural norms and goals and the social structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them."<sup>10</sup> Anomie refers to a condition of the society, although the members of the society are affected by it, since it is they who fail to achieve the goals that they have been enjoined to seek. This anomie, once it has come

into existence  
then creates  
usually some  
Norton devote  
familiar adap  
involve the  
means (or bo  
and means.

Although  
society or  
society, an  
American c  
tributed s  
early conc  
American c  
and the c  
persons i  
for the  
deviant

In s  
conditi  
attent  
concer  
recogn  
of an  
from  
fair

into existence, sets up a strain towards equilibrium, which in turn creates a form of adaptation.<sup>11</sup> These adaptations are usually some form of deviant behavior, and it is to them that Merton devotes the majority of his emphasis. Generally, the now familiar adaptations, as laid out by Merton in his original work, involve the acceptance or negation of either the goals or the means (or both), or the creation of a new set of both goals and means.

Although Merton's schema logically could be applied to any society or group, he devoted much of his analysis to American society, and, in particular, to the discrepancy between the American cultural goal of success, and the differentially distributed social means for attaining such a goal. He was particularly concerned with the discrepancy between the egalitarian American ethic which held "success" to be within the reach of all and the class system of America which encumbered lower-class persons in the struggle for success. This mechanism would account for the disproportionate representation of lower-class persons in deviant groups.

In summary, Merton seems to attend only to the antecedent conditions, and the consequences of anomie, with very little attention paid to anomie, per se. Also, Merton seems to be concerned with anomie as a societal condition. Although he recognizes the possibility of researching the subjective aspects of anomia, and even cites Srole's and MacIver's work, it is clear from the amount of attention he devotes to the topic that he is primarily interested in anomia as a societal condition.<sup>12</sup> The

rationale for  
subjective as  
again, simila  
would hold th  
tual goal a  
seek the goa  
structure a  
If he does  
then create  
the indivi  
writing, h  
writers.  
generally  
those who  
reference  
of opera  
theory.  
jectivi  
and con  
their  
Alt  
appro  
lap.  
in r  
betw  
rea  
in

rationale for the development of 'individual' anomie, or the subjective aspects of anomie, seems to be implicit in Merton, and again, similar to those of Durkheim. Generally, this rationale would hold that the individual must first be exposed to the cultural goal and, to some degree, internalize it; then, he will seek the goal to the extent that his position in the social structure allows it; and, if he achieves it, conformity results. If he does not achieve it, a discrepancy will exist, which will then create anomie and the need for some sort of adaptation (for the individual). Although the rationale is present in Merton's writing, he has done little with it. This has remained for other writers. For those post-Merton sociologists, there seem to be generally two schools of thought and effort. First, there are those who utilize a more or less societal or group frame of reference. These persons have attempted to develop new methods of operationalizing societal anomie, and extend the Mertonian theory. Second, there are those scholars who have taken a subjectivist approach and are attempting to discover the correlates and conditions of the subjective aspects of anomie—or anomia as their group generally prefers to call it.<sup>13</sup>

Although we have somewhat arbitrarily separated these two approaches, we do not mean to imply that they have had no overlap. Perhaps much of the overlap is only at an operational level in research. Much of the difficulty in drawing a clear-cut line between these two approaches stems from the form that their research takes. Many who would classify themselves as interested in societal anomie utilize data gathered on individuals and their

characteris  
defining an  
the theory  
about, soci  
of individu  
overlap. I  
lytic purpo  
research a  
aspects of

#### Societal A

Since M  
anomic the  
basic rati  
level), b  
with the  
ancy betw  
means for

Dubin,  
two cate  
iors tha  
specify v  
ior. Th  
used by  
new dist  
ies of I  
Rebellic



characteristics. And conversely, many who use attitude scales—defining anomie as an individual state of mind—both cite and use the theory developed by persons who are interested in, and writing about, societal anomie. And no doubt, the old theoretical devil of individual versus group contributes no small degree to this overlap. We will, however, arbitrarily separate them for analytic purposes, because the author feels that there is a closer research affinity between the persons studying the subjective aspects of anomie.

### Societal Anomie

Since Merton, there have been several contributions to the anomie theory. The majority of these, however, deal not with the basic rationale for anomie (either at the group or individual level), but more with the adaptations stemming from anomie, or with the particularistic social situation in which the discrepancy between the cultural goals and the socially structured means for achieving them occurs.

Dubin, for example, subdivides Merton's category of means into two categories: means and norms.<sup>14</sup> Means are those actual behaviors that a person carries out in his daily activities. Norms specify what is prescribed behavior and what is proscribed behavior. This distinction sets actual behavior apart from the values used by actors to select among the behavioral choices. With this new distinction, Dubin expands the Mertonian adaptation categories of Innovation and Ritualism from one to six alternatives each. Rebellion and ritualism are retained as in the original work.

The Mertonian

(and means) 1

Cloward,

ancy (althou

there is a

late and i

the culture

will the

means. Cl

able and

form of

these ill

tions.

structur

failure

retreat

applying

his no

tures,

been

of th

To

gene

the

ope

to

ra

The Mertonian rationale of a discrepancy between norms, goals (and means) is not, however, modified.

Cloward, on the other hand, has extended the notion of discrepancy (although he has not basically modified it) by noting that there is a socially structured differential access to both legitimate and illegitimate means.<sup>15</sup> That is, if one cannot attain the culturally prescribed goals by legitimate means, there is still the possibility that he may attain them by illegitimate means. Cloward suggests that where illegitimate means are available and the person 'succeeds' in using them, there is a different form of 'innovation' than where the person does not succeed in these illegitimate structures and must create his own innovations. Of course, if he cannot gain access to the illegitimate structure, nor create one of his own, then a situation of double failure exists, and no form of adaptation is left but that of the retreatist. Although Cloward was specifically interested in applying and revising the anomia theory to delinquent behavior, his notions regarding the necessity of inspecting means structures, other than the traditional institutional structure, have been the point of departure for other critiques and reformulations of the Mertonian theory of anomie.

The majority of the other reformulations of anomie theory generally see the need for adapting the notion of goals-means to the particular social situation or group in which the actor is operating. Short, for example, stresses the need for attending to the goals and means present in the delinquent gang itself, rather than assuming that the societal goals and means are

equally salient  
assumption of  
various, and  
cultural gro  
between the

In summary  
touched the  
is not to  
not been a  
we, there  
explicitly  
taken into

#### The Subject

By sub  
are inte  
celebrations  
in anoma  
about t  
ual sta  
above,  
indivi  
positi  
held

Pe  
anoma  
is v

equally salient for all persons.<sup>16</sup> Lemert notes that the assumption of society-wide goals in a pluralistic society is tenuous, and attention should be paid to the goals of these sub-cultural groupings, especially as they mediate and intervene between the individual and the societal levels.<sup>17</sup>

In summary, these post-Mertonian theoretical changes have not touched the underlying rationale whereby anomie develops. This is not to say that criticisms of the discrepancy rationale have not been advanced, but within the tradition of anomie theory per se, there have been none, nor in the research that has stemmed explicitly from it have there been these sorts of criticisms taken into account, as we shall see.<sup>18</sup>

### The Subjectivists

By subjectivists, we do not mean to refer to those persons who are interested in ascertaining the psychological bases or antecedents of anomia. Rather, we refer to those who have an interest in anomia as a characteristic of an individual; as a set of beliefs about the nature of the world that he perceives; and as an individual state of mind. Most writers in this tradition, as implied above, are explicitly sociological in that they see the cause of individual attitudes, etc., as stemming from the individual's position in society.<sup>19</sup> That is, the state of societal anomie is held to create a parallel state for the individual.

Perhaps the first two sociologists to become interested in anomia were MacIver and Srole, in 1950. MacIver, for instance, is very explicit in his concern over the individual aspects of

monia.

Amoy signi-  
up by his m  
only discon  
continuity,  
become spin  
responsible  
sensation  
state of m  
cohesion—  
fatally we

Clearly, t

on the other

theoretical

attempting

monia." 21

societal l

of variati

individual

their int

Further,

'monia'

hall's ge

ness' an

alienat

theoret

alizati

an eve

lation

on th

or re

anomia.

Anomy signifies the state of mind of one who has been pulled up by his moral roots, who has no longer any standards, but only disconnected urges, who has no longer any sense of continuity, of folk, of obligation. The anomic man has become spiritually sterile, responsive only to himself, responsible to no one . . . He lives on the thin line of sensation between no future and no past . . . Anomy is a state of mind in which the individual's sense of social cohesion—the mainspring of his morals—is broken or fatally weakened. <sup>20</sup>

Clearly, this is a subjectivist conception of anomie. Srole, on the other hand, is much less a subjectivist—at least, at the theoretical level. In his early works, he states that he is attempting "to test hypotheses centering on Durkheim's concept of anomie." <sup>21</sup> He notes that although Durkheim focused mainly on the societal level, there is the possibility of a "parallel continuum of variations seen from the 'microscopic' or molecular view of individuals as they are integrated in the total action fields of their interpersonal relationships and reference groups."<sup>22</sup> Further, he argues that there can exist a continuum ranging from 'eunomia' to 'anomia', with the former "referring to the individual's generalized, pervasive sense of 'self-to-others belongingness' and [with] 'self-to-others distance' and 'self-to-others alienation' at the other pole of the continuum." <sup>23</sup> Little more theoretical attention is given to the development of his conceptualization. However, in his rationale for operationalization, we get an even clearer cue that Srole considers his anomia conceptualization to refer to "the ideational states or components that on theoretical grounds would represent internalised counterparts or reflections, in the individual's life situation, of conditions

of social dys

Regarding

ation, Srole

of Kerton whe

pendent vari

ation is the

(From) or a

Further, Sro

Three mo

operatin

situatio

1. Refer

within w

2. Gener

his con

goal ch

and (c)

3. The

tionshi

conditi

tions,

struct

Perhaps

oment of

anopia.

few pure

individu

explosio

to our

is wort

difficu

studier

right



of social dysfunction."<sup>24</sup>

Regarding the sources of this anomia or self-to-others alienation, Srole appears to follow the explicit sociological tradition of Merton when he states that "social dysfunction is the independent variable, the individual's state of self-to-group alienation is the intervening variable, and change in personality (Fromm) or adaptive modes (Merton) is the dependent variable."<sup>25</sup>

Further, Srole explains:

Three more inclusive sets of forces are also seen as operating in his [the anomic person] contemporary situation.

1. Reference groups beyond his immediate field of action, within which acceptance and ultimate integration are sought.
2. Generalized qualities of the molar society penetrating his contemporary action field as these affect (a) his life goal choices, (b) his selection of means toward these goals, and (c) his success or failure in achieving these goals.
3. The socialisation processes of his interpersonal relationships during child hood and adolescence, as these have conditioned the interpersonal expectations, value orientations, and behavioral tendencies of his current personality structure. <sup>26</sup>

Perhaps Srole's greatest influence in this area was his development of the now famous Srole Scale for measuring individual anomia. Following the development of this scale, there have been few purely theoretical treatises on the nature and sources of individual anomia. On the other hand, there has been a virtual explosion of empirical studies, each making their own contribution to our knowledge about anomia. In explaining this explosion, it is worthy to note the ease of using an attitude scale versus the difficulty of constructing group indexes. Primarily, these studies have sought to correlate anomia with conditions which might be thought to exemplify the Mertonian rationale, and they

will be disc

empirical li

In summar

anomia theor

the sustaine

and its num

and wonderi

substantive

we also agr

'virtually

explanator

cultural o

uals which

writers ha

challenge

of it . .

same expl

in our r

explicit

ical fin

therefor

ity.

We h

theory

histor

will be discussed in the section dealing with a review of empirical literature.

In summarizing our perusal of selected writers in anomie-anomia theory, we are forced to agree with Cohen. "In view of the sustained interest in anomie theory, its enormous influence and its numerous [empirical] application . . . it is worth noting and wondering at the relatively slow and fitful growth of the substantive growth theory itself."<sup>27</sup> In addition, we find that we also agree with McClosky and Schaar when they say that "virtually all of this [empirical] work has employed a single explanatory model for the analysis of anomie: a specified social-cultural condition gives rise to specified feelings in individuals which in turn result in specified behaviors. Different writers have worked variations on this scheme, but nobody has challenged the scheme itself or attempted a fundamental revision of it . . . [and] virtually all studies of anomie have employed the same explanatory model."<sup>28</sup> We must note, however, as we shall see in our review of empirical literature, that no study using an explicitly avowed anomie theory framework has come up with empirical findings which have directly challenged anomie theory. Therefore, the explanatory rationale appears to have some validity.

#### Review of Alienation Theory

We have arbitrarily separated alienation theory from anomie theory because alienation theory seems to have a much longer history as well as a wider scope of discussion, at least in its

image by soc

the main, a

society" vic

the structur

the two con

introduction

Peuer's wor

oriented al

ation theor

interested

of social r

intended a

tion; rath

criticism

History an

Accord

its histo

sometimes

talism."

accompan

concept

in part

resulti

made a

the tr

of all

usage by social critics from a wide variety of intellectuals. In the main, alienation is used by those theorists holding to a "mass society" viewpoint, whereas anomie-anomia theorists are more from the structural-functional point of view. As we shall see, however, the two concepts are similar. We shall first provide a brief introduction to this history of the concept, relying heavily upon Feuer's work.<sup>29</sup> Then we shall turn to those more empirically oriented alienation theorists for the bulk of our review of alienation theory. We shall confine our attention to those theorists interested in developing the theory of alienation for the purposes of social research—rather than social criticism. This is not intended as a slight to social critics nor to demean their function; rather it is a recognition of a distinction between social criticism and social science.

### History and Early Usage

According to Feuer, alienation is an ethical concept having its historical source in "the youthful Marx who in manuscripts, sometimes unpublished, wrote down an ethical critique of capitalism."<sup>30</sup> Feuer argues that Marx picked up the term and its accompanying vocabulary from Hegel, who in turn "imbibed the concept of alienation from pessimist Protestant theology (Calvin, in particular)."<sup>31</sup> Generally, Marx saw alienation as a condition resulting from the separation of the worker from the product he made as well as the means of production. Or, at least this is the traditional contemporary interpretation of Marx's meaning of alienation. Feuer maintains, however, that this is a super-

total reading

first used by

and Feuerbach

sexual connect

a protest of

civilisation,

peace with bo

concept which

Although r

the term has

alienated int

closely akin

political con

theorists. A

evil product

Simmel viewed

sometimes re

suicide. Fe

term, and co

concept of

ties the dis

which for r

their favor

[and] a pro

with themse

ficial reading of Marx's theory, and that "...'alienation' as first used by Marx, Engels, and their fellow young Hegelians and Feuerbachians was a romantic concept, with a preponderantly sexual connotation. It was the language of a group which made a protest of romantic individualism against the new capitalist civilization, but which soon went on to its post-adolescent peace with bourgeois society. Marx and Engels discarded a concept which became alien to their own aims."<sup>32</sup>

Although rejected by Marx and Engels, and classical Marxists, the term has returned to our vocabulary via MacDonald, and other alienated intellectual social critics of the 1930's vintage. Closely akin to the social critics' usage of alienation as a polemical concept has been the use of the term by "mass society" theorists. Mass society theorists view alienation as a slightly evil product of modern society, somewhat in the manner that Simmel viewed modern society.<sup>33</sup> In this style, alienation is sometimes referred to as a cause of everything from apathy to suicide. Feuer is somewhat critical of this wide usage of the term, and concludes that "...'alienation' remains too much a concept of political theology which bewilders rather than clarifies the direction of political action...[is] a dramatic metaphor which for reasons peculiar to intellectual's experience has become their favorite root-metaphor for perceiving the social universe... [and] a projection of the psychology of intellectuals disenchanted with themselves."<sup>34</sup>

Current Affe

Hettler,

has commente

from anomie

tion.<sup>35</sup> Het

has been est

the culture

society."<sup>36</sup>

state of th

conception

With res

Hettler cit

critics (Fr

ally. We r

operational

the assump

cultural v

the cultur

this is at

discrepanc

or accepte

there is

Given tha

cultural

may be lo

'retreat;

Hettler's



### Current Alienation Theory

Nettler, in an effort to clarify the referents of alienation, has commented upon the degree to which alienation is distinct from anomie (as a societal condition) and personal disorganization.<sup>35</sup> Nettler's definition of an alienated person is "one who has been estranged from, made unfriendly toward, his society and the culture it carries ... the feeling of estrangement from society."<sup>36</sup> Explicitly, this definition refers to a psychological state of the individual. Nettler appears to equate Srole's conception of anomia with alienation, however.

With respect to the conditions under which alienation occurs, Nettler cites a large number of the mass society theorists and critics (Fromm, De Grazie, etc.) but contributes little personally. We may assume, however, from his theoretical guide to operationalization—i.e., "all specific questions were guided by the assumption that the alienated person would resent the common cultural values of his society"<sup>37</sup>—that alienated persons reject the cultural goals in favor of their own. We would assume that this is at least not incongruent with the Merton rationale of a discrepancy, although how Nettler would feel about the rejection or acceptance of norms is obviously not known. Theoretically, there is another alternative interpretation of Nettler's position. Given that his definition of alienation includes rejection of cultural goals, and estrangement from the rest of society, it may be logically possible to consider this as a form of Merton's 'retreatist' adaptation. In this case, the antecedents of Nettler's "alienation" again could logically be congruent with

Merton's con  
or alienatio  
quences of a  
would regar  
One of t  
contemporar  
an inspecti  
in alienati  
one of the  
make the tr  
sharp empir  
theoretica  
been used.  
expectancy  
behavior c  
reinforce  
expectancy  
of behavior  
ancy that  
given goa  
person "a  
typically  
estranger  
upon ant  
individu  
or equat.

Merton's conceptualization of the preconditions of anomie—or alienation. Regarding the theoretically possible consequences of alienation, Nettler says little, but apparently would regard it as an open question, to be answered empirically.

One of the most productive writers and researchers on the contemporary scene is Melvin Seeman.<sup>38</sup> This is evident from an inspection of the institutional affiliations of many writers in alienation.<sup>39</sup> In an effort to "make more organized sense of one of the great traditions in sociological thought ... and to make the traditional interest in alienation more amenable to sharp empirical statement," Seeman has developed five basic, but theoretically separable, ways in which the term alienation has been used.<sup>40</sup> The five variants are: (1) powerlessness or "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks";<sup>41</sup> (2) meaninglessness, or the "low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made";<sup>42</sup> (3) normlessness, or a "high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals";<sup>43</sup> (4) isolation, or the condition in which the person "assign[s] low reward values to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society";<sup>44</sup> and (5) self-estrangement, or "the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards".<sup>45</sup> All variants are explicitly individual states, and, maintains Seeman, should not be confused or equated with personal disorganization, or other quasi-patho-

logical chara  
alienation, t  
narrow defini  
ation, in tha  
able.

An inspect  
of alienation  
with various  
ation. He r  
Rotter:

[Rotter's  
depends  
the beha  
value of  
If these  
behavior  
person c  
achieve  
likely

Another  
person conc  
being due t  
outside his  
definitely  
nated by o  
ence."47

This ge  
Parall  
that t  
ordina  
vinced  
those  
exampl  
...

logical characteristics. Although these phenomena may accompany alienation, they are not identical with it. Seeman's relatively narrow definitions of alienation are an aid in researching alienation, in that they make alienation somewhat more operationalizable.

An inspection of Seeman's writings with respect to the causes of alienation seems to indicate that mass society, in conjunction with various aspects of learning in a mass society, create alienation. He relies very heavily upon the social learning theory of Rotter:

[Rotter's] principal contention is that human behavior depends on (1) the degree to which a person expects that the behavior will have a successful outcome, and (2) the value of that success to the person trying to achieve it. If these factors are powerful, separately or together, the behavior is most likely to occur. Specifically, if a person expects that learning something will help him achieve some goal and/or he values that goal, he is more likely to learn.<sup>46</sup>

Another factor influencing learning is the degree to which a person conceives of the success or failure of a given behavior being due to an external or an internal factor, i.e., something outside his control or under his control. "A person will definitely learn less from experiences he conceives to be dominated by outsiders, or by chance, which he feels he cannot influence."<sup>47</sup>

This general learning theory is, in Seeman's view:

Parallel [to] the argument of the followers of mass theory that the isolated individual in the 'lonely crowd', subordinated to and intimidated by bureaucracy, becomes convinced of his powerlessness and gives up learning about those things that might affect his future. As a specific example, he becomes apathetic and indifferent to politics . . . 'You can't fight city hall'.<sup>48</sup>

In general  
create situa  
outcomes of  
necessary in  
roles main  
individual  
This create  
This set  
cation of t  
to the bure  
ships with  
factors is  
that there  
control, or  
it would se  
is not bas  
but more an  
context.  
there is a  
once a dis  
rewards, e  
actually a  
theoretica  
we shall s  
discrepan  
of alienat  
Seeman

In general, Seeman maintains that bureaucratic social systems create situations where persons cannot learn how to control the outcomes of their behavior, i.e., they cannot learn what is necessary in order to obtain a reward. Or at least that bureaucracies maintain control over the reward systems so that what the individual does has no bearing upon the rewards that he receives. This creates the powerlessness, normlessness, etc.

This set of propositions does not, however, contain a specification of the particular form of the relationship of the individual to the bureaucracy. And unless we can assume that all relationships with bureaucracy produce alienation, then some other set of factors is necessary. Additionally, Seeman's view seems to assume that there is, on the part of the individual, some expectation of control, or at least, reward.<sup>49</sup> If this assumption is made, then it would seem that Seeman's learning theory-mass society rationale is not basically incompatible with the Durkheim-Merton rationale, but more an explication and extension of it for the 'mass society' context. That is, given the nature of bureaucratic systems, there is a distinct possibility that the individual will experience a discrepancy between his desire for control, meaning, rewards, etc., and the control, meaning, rewards, etc., that he actually achieves. In this manner, then, we can consider Seeman's theoretical rationale as a part of the discrepancy rationale. As we shall see later, Waisanen has explicitly set out a series of 'discrepancy' conditions which can lead to Seeman's various forms of alienation.<sup>50</sup>

Seeman suggests many possible consequences of alienation.

"Alienation in  
political pas  
part in movem  
have little f  
Perhaps his  
alienation p  
lead to a fo  
If we are no  
information  
least to a  
reformatori  
this sort.<sup>5</sup>  
ting more  
which may  
increasing  
study of  
degree al  
pation, a  
again, it  
increasin  
In ge  
narrowly  
sharply  
And alt  
society  
conflic  
and Mex



"Alienation in turn results in alienated behavior, such as political passivity, racial and religious prejudice, taking part in movements that promise to usher in the millenium (but have little immediate or practical effect) and the like."<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps his most provocative consequence is the degree to which alienation prohibits the learning of new information that would lead to a form of control by the individual over his situation. If we are not misinterpreting Seeman, learning certain types of information about a situation lead to control over it, or at least to a sense of control. But in his study of hospitals and reformatories, he notes that alienation precludes learning of this sort.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, alienation may be spoken of as begetting more alienation—or at least alienation sets up a situation which may not be self-correcting, and is likely to be ever increasing. Somewhat the same rationale is presented in his study of unions and powerlessness, where he argues that to some degree alienation is both a structural result of lack of participation, and a motivation not to belong to organizations.<sup>53</sup> And again, it has the consequences of feeding upon itself, and increasing.

In general, Seeman's contributions seem to lie in the area of narrowly specifying what alienation is, so that it may be more sharply distinguished from its antecedents and its consequences. And although he relies upon a relatively general theory of mass society as an antecedent condition, it does not appear to be in conflict with the 'discrepancy' rationale set forth by Durkheim and Merton.

Clark, who  
Sesman, expli  
and in partic  
the discrepan  
defines alie  
to achieve t  
specific sit  
be a measure  
he has, and  
from his ri  
is evident  
(and theref  
bureaucrati  
says that w  
trends in c  
rapid shif  
tion to a  
organizati  
These d  
alienation  
between or  
to occur  
alienatio  
Follow  
attempted  
of the va  
and follo

Clark, who also would appear to have been influenced by Seeman, explicitly illustrates the possibility that alienation—and in particular powerlessness—may indeed stem from a form of the discrepancy between expectations and achievements.<sup>54</sup> He defines alienation as "the degree to which man feels powerless to achieve the role he has determined to be rightfully his in specific situations."<sup>55</sup> Further, "a measure of alienation must be a measure of the discrepancy between the power man believes he has, and what he believes he should have—his estrangement from his rightful role."<sup>56</sup> Although not explicitly stated, it is evident that Clark feels that such a situation of discrepancy (and therefore alienation) is more likely to develop in a large bureaucratic situation. In characterizing his study site, he says that "this cooperative illustrates one of the most striking trends in cooperative organizations in recent years, namely the rapid shift from a small, community-centered, personal organization to a large, sprawling, more complicated, and impersonal organization."<sup>57</sup>

These definitions and comments indicate that Clark feels that alienation is an individual state which results from a discrepancy between one's expectations and achievements, which is very likely to occur in mass societies. With respect to the consequences of alienation Clark has little to say.

Following Seeman's lead in defining alienation, Dean has attempted to develop empirical evidence regarding the separability of the various types of alienation.<sup>58</sup> Although Dean cites Seeman, and follows his sub-types, there is a good bit of divergence

between the t  
approximately  
inability to  
defined by D  
ness and cor  
McCliver's a  
values so t  
The conflic  
"incorpora  
standards  
stimulatio  
living ve  
people, a  
factual  
normless  
the high  
a given  
corpone  
ingless  
tions  
third  
to See  
Seena  
Dean  
one  
then

between the two. Both Dean and Seeman define powerlessness in approximately the same manner, as a state of helplessness, of inability to control one's future. Normlessness, however, is defined by Dean as consisting of two sub-sub-types: purposelessness and conflict or norms. Purposelessness is similar to MacIver's anomy—a state in which the individual has lost his values so that he has no guiding purposes or goals in his life. The conflict of norms occurs, for example, when the individual "incorporates in his personality conflicting norms such as the standards of Christianity versus the success imperative, the stimulation toward a constantly higher material standard of living versus the practical denial of a high standard for many people, and the alleged freedom of the individual versus the factual limitations on his behavior."<sup>59</sup> Both of these types of normlessness are at variance with Seeman's definition of norms as the high expectancy that illegitimate means are required to reach a given goal. Actually, Dean's definition of the purposelessness component seems to approximate what Seeman would define as meaninglessness, i.e., "the low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made."<sup>60</sup> Dean's third component, social isolation, although theoretically similar to Seeman's, is operationalized quite differently. Whereas Seeman considers social isolation within the framework of rewards, Dean discusses it in terms of the number of social contacts that one has, and the sense of separation from groups which is consequently engendered. Generally, it would seem that Dean's consider-

ation of alie

there is a te

utilize the v

Because h

empirical re

little to s

sequences o

ships betwe

comments re

it would s

access to

creating s

Hajia'

similar t

cultural

Hajia de

ness or

from soc

non-bel

unwelco

aliena

be und

Given

situa

confi

majo

ation of alienation is somewhat similar to Seeman's, although there is a terminological difference in the way that they utilize the various terms.

Because his study was primarily aimed at ascertaining empirical relations between sub-types of alienation, Dean has little to say in terms of the antecedent conditions and the consequences of alienation. Given his hypotheses regarding relationships between social status, age and urban residence, and his comments regarding his study paralleling those of Wendell Bell, it would seem that he implicitly believes that differential access to goals, or social status is an important variable creating alienation.

Hajda's conceptualization of alienation is to some degree similar to Nettler's notion regarding the isolation from the cultural mainstream, and Dean's notion of social isolation.<sup>61</sup>

Hajda defines alienation as "an individual's feeling of uneasiness or discomfort which reflects his exclusion or self-exclusion from social and cultural participation. It is an expression of non-belonging or non-sharing, an uneasy awareness or perception of unwelcome contrast with others."<sup>62</sup> Hajda further conceives of alienation—as Srole does of anomia—as a continuum that cannot be understood apart from the opposite feeling of "belongingness." Given this continuum, then, everyone in a society may at some situation or another, feel more or less alienated. Regarding the conditions under which alienation varies, Hajda conceives of four major factors:

(1) The number  
an individual  
he participa  
in these col  
grows out of  
(3) the degree  
membership of  
of a committee  
ties; (4) the  
to which one  
of the social  
norms, beliefs

Although  
which Hajda  
tion, he would  
the development  
circumstances  
alienation.  
the particular  
alienated

The last  
which we  
Waisanen  
various  
theory of  
with the  
ship between  
hypothesis  
norms and  
several  
social  
are present



(1) The number of qualitatively different collectivities an individual belongs to and thus the number of subcultures he participates in; (2) the extent to which the membership in these collectivities is concentrically coordinated with, grows out of, or is supported by the personal primary groups; (3) the degree to which the ties to chronologically earlier membership groups are not discarded or attenuated in favor of a commitment to new and substantially different social ties; (4) the extent to which the membership collectivities to which one belongs represent or symbolize the main body of the society and are infused with the prevalent values, norms, beliefs.<sup>63</sup>

Although these are the general characteristics or conditions which Hajda would see as associated with, or producing alienation, he would further maintain that there are many routes for the development of alienation, dependent upon the particular circumstances. With respect to the possible consequences of alienation, Hajda has little to say. Again, it would seem that the particular consequences would depend upon the particular alienated group.

The last theoretical contributions to alienation theory which we shall consider are those of Waisanen.<sup>64</sup> In these efforts Waisanen is explicitly formulating a rapprochement between the various branches of alienation and anomie theory, as well as theory from various scientific disciplines. Waisanen begins with the notion that alienation is a consequence of the relationship between the individual and the social system. He, then hypothesizes that both the individual and the social system have norms and goals. This, of course, raises the possibility of several different types of discrepancies between individual and social system, and between goals and norms. This logical procedure produces a revision of Merton's paradigm. Then, Waisanen

relates the po  
theory of Fest  
for the 'stra  
or implicitly  
theorists. I  
person knows  
and something  
do not fit t  
ance."<sup>65</sup>  
condition i  
attempts to  
To this  
of as "gen  
that "acor  
[and] becc  
elements  
and a bel  
to percei  
It repres  
ness of  
[or] inf  
nificanc  
tanic ex  
knowled  
these p  
yields

relates the possibility of a discrepancy to the dissonance theory of Festinger using it as a meta-hypothesis to account for the 'strain toward adaptations' which is so often absent or implicitly assumed in the work of previous alienation-anomie theorists. Basically, Festinger's meta-hypothesis is: "If a person knows two things, for example, something about himself and something about the world in which he lives, which somehow do not fit together, we will speak of this as cognitive dissonance."<sup>65</sup> Further, "if these two things do fit together, the condition is consonance. Dissonance prompts behavior which attempts to reduce the dissonance."<sup>66</sup>

To this framework, Waisanen has attached what might be thought of as "general goals" of the individual; or consequential elements that "accrue to the person as he participates in the system . . . [and] become part of his self system."<sup>67</sup> These consequential elements are: (1) "Familiarity [which] represents knowledge of, and a belief in the rules of the social system; it . . . relates to perceived stability. It makes patterned behavior possible. It represents internalization of norms, perception of appropriateness of roles, and ability to manipulate facilities." (2) "Power [or] influence within the system. It related to perceived significance and productivity, and represents a consequence of systemic evaluation of the productivity of the person. Power implies knowledge of the processes of the system, and the influencing of these processes." (3) "The operation of the social system also yields sentiment, or affective ties with other members of the

system." 68 Wd

the person and

tial elements

produce the co

isolation to w

elements will

the individual

do not influe

to use the Fe

dissonance re

Factors wh

to the origi

both persona

an additiona

notes, and

It is o

drawal

tional

the soc

failure

importe

If the indi

changes in

Waisanen's

or consequ

fied in S

condition

social sy

not prese

alienati

system."<sup>68</sup> When the conditions of the relationship between the person and the social system are discrepant, these consequential elements are not forthcoming, and Waisanen would argue, produce the conditions of powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation to which Seeman refers. Although these alienative elements will be present in any condition of discrepancy between the individual and the social system, they, in and of themselves, do not influence the direction which adaptations will take—or to use the Festinger terminology—they do not affect the mode of dissonance reduction attempts.

Factors which do affect the form of the adaptation are similar to the original Mertonian paradigm. Waisanen's introduction of both personal and social system considerations, however, produces an additional convergency with Seeman, and Cloward.<sup>69</sup> Cloward notes, and Seeman cites, the following:

It is our view that the most significant step in the withdrawal of sentiments supporting the legitimacy of conventional norms is the attribution of the cause of failure to the social order rather than to oneself . . . Whether the failure blames the social order or himself is of central importance to the understanding of deviant conduct.<sup>70</sup>

If the individual sees the social system at fault, he will seek changes in it, and vice versa. This additional element in Waisanen's reformulation clarifies the form of adaptations to, or consequences of, alienation which were to some degree unclarified in Seeman's thought. Additionally, it also specifies the conditions of the relationship between the individual and the social system which produce alienation—another factor which is not present in Seeman's theoretical developments regarding alienation.

Vaisanen's ma  
our picture of w  
ally, he appear  
fication of both  
and the consequ  
develop. It is  
which to some d  
process, or the

1. There is  
semantics. It  
societal condi  
an individual  
vidual reflec  
with other us  
eventually ab

2. Most re  
ents and con  
variable; an  
section deal  
scale, which  
well as anon  
alienation  
rather than  
more person

3. Most

Waisanen's main contribution, then, has not been to alter our picture of what the state of the alienated person is; basically, he appears to agree with Seeman. Rather, it is a clarification of both the conditions under which alienation develops, and the consequences under which certain forms of adaptation develop. It is, also, an explicit statement of a meta-hypothesis which to some degree sustains the dynamics of the alienative process, or the strain toward adaptation.

#### Summary of Alienation-Anomia Theory

1. There is an ever-present problem with terminology and semantics. It is generally accepted that anomie refers to a societal condition and that anomy, anomia and alienation refer to an individual state. Others consider alienation to be the individual reflection of societal anomie. This is not incongruent with other usages but merely an additional semantic issue which eventually should be resolved.

2. Most researchers using the term anomia study the antecedents and consequent conditions, with anomia as an intervening variable; an exception (and this will become clearer in the section dealing with empirical studies) is the usage of the Srole scale, which is frequently used in antecedent-anomia studies, as well as anomia-consequence studies. Theorists using the term alienation often are concerned with the nature of alienation, rather than its specific causes and/or consequences, although more persons seemed to be concerned with consequences.

3. Most theorists would agree with the basic rationale of a

discrepancy be  
achievement of  
where this is  
at least, logi  
retical writin

4. Although  
monia is gene  
generally foll  
ally, it is th  
level—should  
ation as well  
however, a gen  
pathological p  
each other. A  
tion—as we sh  
tions are bas  
correlated.  
could hardly

In summary  
relationship  
there is a di  
achievements.  
feelings of a  
homelessness,  
separating th  
empirical pro



discrepancy between an individual's goals and his actual achievement of them as a cause of alienation/anomia. In cases where this is not explicitly stated, it would appear that it is, at least, logically consistent. Therefore, we can combine theoretical writings regarding alienation and anomia-anomy.

4. Although it stems from a single general source, alienation/anomia is generally thought to have various facets or sub-types, generally following one or more of the Seeman variants. Additionally, it is thought that alienation—at least at a theoretical level—should be conceptually separated from personal disorganization as well as other quasi-pathological phenomena. There is, however, a general expectation that the sub-types, as well as the pathological phenomena, will be found empirically related to each other. A problem stemming from this sort of conceptualization—as we shall see later—is that many of the operationalizations are basically similar, and empirically have been found to be correlated. If they do, in fact, stem from a single source, we could hardly expect them to be otherwise.

In summary, then, we can define alienation as a product of the relationship of the individual and the social system, in which there is a discrepancy between the individual's expectations and achievements. Further, this condition creates for the individual, feelings of a disturbing sort, which may embody powerlessness, normlessness, etc. Although there is a theoretical basis for separating the various forms of alienation, there must await empirical proof of separability.

Review

Operationalization

Following the  
mind', most sci  
ments as their  
more or less r  
like, and there  
alisations, we  
this being nec  
used by various

Srole's or  
statements: (  
because often  
the average m  
for today and  
what some pe  
worse, not b  
the world wi  
"These days

Item one  
of powerless  
to influence  
cannot infl  
indicating  
seem to ex

## Review of Empirical Alienation-Anomie Literature

### Operationalisations of Alienation-Anomie

Following the general definition of alienation as a 'state of mind', most scholars have tended to use "attitude type" statements as their measure of alienation. Most of these statements more or less represent what a person who was alienated might feel like, and thereby endorse. In discussing these various operationalisations, we will use Seeman's terminology as our standard, this being necessary because of the divergent terms which are used by various writers.

Srole's original anomia scale contained the following five statements: (1) "There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man"; (2) "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself"; (3) "In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better"; (4) "It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future"; and (5) "These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on."<sup>71</sup>

Item one would seem to exemplify Seeman's conceptualisation of powerlessness, in that it indicates an inability of the person to influence what will happen to him, in the sense that he cannot influence that which his leaders will do. Item two, by indicating that "tomorrow" is essentially unpredictable, would seem to exemplify Seeman's conceptualization of meaninglessness,

i.e., predict.

made. Item for

although cons

seen to be the

of the lack of

tural goals.

faction with

an American g

indicates a g

Indeed, it ha

"despair" mor

Kettler's

as an example

it reflects a

of the major

17-item scale

Do you

Do you

Were yo

Do nati

you?

Do you

or i

These sorts

'intellectu

Clark, i

powerlessne

participate

mal's feeli

i.e., predictions about future outcomes of behavior cannot be made. Item four is of much the same character. Item five, although construed by Srole to mean social estrangement, would seem to be the social isolation discussed by Dean, in terms of the lack of friendships, rather than estrangement from cultural goals. Item three was meant by Srole to indicate dissatisfaction with the American progress ideal, and thereby rejection of an American goal, or, cultural estrangement. But item three also indicates a great deal of despair, or pessimism for the future. Indeed, it has been opined that the entire Srole scale measures "despair" more than it does alienation or anomia.<sup>72</sup>

Nettler's operationalisation of alienation is used by Seeman as an example of the 'isolation' component of alienation, i.e., it reflects a dissatisfaction with, and rejection of, the values of the majority society. Representative examples from Nettler's 17-item scale are:

Do you enjoy TV?  
 Do you read Reader's Digest?  
 Were you interested in the recent national elections?  
 Do national spectator-sports (football, baseball) interest you?  
 Do you believe human life is an expression of divine purpose, or is it only the result of chance and evolution?<sup>73</sup>

These sorts of items would appear to operationalize a more or less 'intellectual alienation'.

Clark, in operationalising alienation (or more specifically, powerlessness) from a specific social system which an individual participates in, asked a series of questions about the individual's feeling of influence within the social system. Specifically

he asked who o

al felt he ha

felt that memb

which he felt

lastly, a rat

the individual

seen to indic

ask the indiv

cooperative, v

the individual

Dean has o

and in additi

normalness

#### Powerless

1. There  
a man
2. We are
3. The
4. There  
a man
5. There  
that
6. It is  
of a
7. Some  
usin
8. We're  
for

#### Normalness

1. I of
2. People  
ever
3. Every  
defi
4. With  
rea
5. I we

he asked who owned the cooperative, how much influence the individual felt he had in the cooperative, how much 'say' the individual felt that members ought to have in the cooperative, the extent to which he felt that he was a 'part-owner' of the cooperative, and lastly, a rating by the interviewer of the identification that the individual has with the cooperative.<sup>74</sup> These items would seem to indicate powerlessness in the Seeman sense, in that they ask the individual how much influence and power he has over the cooperative, which in turn has some influence over the life of the individual.

Dean has operationalized alienation as a general measure, and in addition, includes three sub-scales of powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation. Dean's items are:

#### Powerlessness

1. There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing a major 'shooting' war.
2. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.
3. The future looks very dismal.
4. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.
5. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just blow up.
6. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.
7. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.
8. We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.

#### Normlessness

1. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.
2. Peoples' ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.
3. Everything is relative and there just aren't any definite rules to this life.
4. With so many religious beliefs today one doesn't really know which to believe.
5. I worry about the future facing today's children.

6. The  
7. The  
he

Social

1. So
2. Re
3. Pe
4. Th
5. I
6. M
7. C
8. 5

Inspe

treating

cultura

ness of

"These

Dean's

Seenan

ing th

state

exemp

addit

Dean

or u

chil

simi

in

lea



6. The end often justifies the means.
7. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.

### Social Isolation

1. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.
2. Real friends are as easy as ever to find.
3. People are just naturally friendly and helpful.
4. There are few dependable ties between people anymore.
5. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.
6. Most people today seldom feel lonely.
7. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.
8. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place. 75

Inspecting these items, it becomes apparent that Dean is treating social isolation, not as Seeman did (as rejection of culturally valued goals), but more as the perception of loneliness of the lack of friends. This is similar to Srole's item, "These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on." Dean's notions of normlessness also seem to approximate what Seeman defined as meaningless, i.e., low expectancy of predicting the future, with one exception (item number six) where he states that "The end often justifies the means", which seems to exemplify approval of illegitimate means to get ahead. In addition, one must note in both powerlessness and normlessness, Dean emphasizes the degree to which the future is either dismal or unpredictable. The two items concerning the future for children (powerlessness: item six, normlessness: item five) are similar to Srole's item regarding the dismal future of children in today's world. There would, however, appear to be a good deal of convergence between Dean's and Seeman's conceptualiza-

tion and op  
Hajda's  
Clark in th  
a particula  
occupations  
feeling of  
pation, or  
dents "how  
presence o  
religion,  
field tha  
tastes, a  
person fe  
alienate  
Kettler,  
notions  
one is d  
society  
over th  
Seeman,  
this di  
See:  
undert  
the 'P  
scale  
been a

tion and operationalization of powerlessness.

Hajda's operationalizations of alienation are similar to Clark in that he was attempting to measure alienation within a particular occupational sphere, in this case the academic occupations.<sup>76</sup> Following his definition of alienation as a feeling of exclusion or self-exclusion from cultural participation, or unwelcome contrast with others, Hajda asked respondents "how often they felt uncomfortably different in the presence of non-academic people because of their views on religion, views on politics, great interest in a specialized field that non-academic people do not understand, personal tastes, and concern about solving social problems."<sup>77</sup> If a person felt uncomfortable for these items, he was said to be alienated. This operationalization is similar to that of Nettler, and would seem to represent a variant of Seeman's notions of isolation, in that there is a concern with what one is doing that is not in accord with the majority of the society. Hajda, however, includes 'uneasiness' or discomfort over this feeling as a factor in alienation. Nettler and Seeman, however, would not apparently think it necessary for this discomfort to exist in order for alienation to exist.

Seeman, after his definitive, "On the Meaning of Alienation", undertook a series of other studies in which he operationalized the 'powerlessness' component of alienation.<sup>78</sup> Although his scale has not been published in its entirety, nor has the writer been able to obtain one, Seeman does provide us with four

examples wh

forced choi

departure f

Seeman's i

1. (a) "

(b)

2. (a)

(b)

3. (a)

(b)

4. (a)

(b)

5. (a)

(b)

6. (a)

(b)

7. (a)

(b)

See:

the "e

own be

or re

howev

proba

examples which he claims to be representative. They are forced choice types and, as such, represent something of a departure from the usual mode of asking attitude questions.

Seeman's items are:

1. (a) There's very little persons like myself can do to improve world opinion of the United States.  
(b) I think each of us can do a great deal to improve world opinion of the United States.
2. (a) Persons like myself have little chance of protecting our personal interests when they conflict with those of strong pressure groups.  
(b) I feel that we have adequate ways of coping with pressure groups.
3. (a) Even if the odds are against you, it's possible to come out on top by keeping at it.  
(b) A person's future is largely a matter of what fate has in store for him.
4. (a) Nowadays people just don't realize what an important role luck plays in their lives.  
(b) There is really no such thing as luck.
5. (a) Many times I have the feeling that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.  
(b) I do not believe that chance and luck are very important in my life.
6. (a) Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it.  
(b) Getting a job depends mainly upon being at the right place at the right time.
7. (a) The average citizen can have an influence on the way the government is run.  
(b) This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.<sup>79</sup>

Seeman's original definition of powerlessness was in terms of the "expectancy of probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks."<sup>80</sup> In his operationalizations, however, Seeman does not ask the person for this simplistic probability or expectation. Rather, he follows the usual

practice of de  
agreed or disa  
such a low pro  
narrow definit  
inspection of  
similar to Dea  
prevention of  
sing from the  
blance to Sro  
public offici  
Middleton  
operationali  
which will e  
items are:

Powerless  
There  
impor

Meaningful  
Thing  
that

Powerless  
In or  
force

Cultural  
I am  
or m

Social  
I of

Estranged  
I d  
I f  
tha

Middle  
to parall

practice of developing attitude type statements, which when agreed or disagreed with, would characterize a person who held such a low probability. Seeman, thus, dilutes his relatively narrow definition of alienation at the operational level. An inspection of these items further reveals that they are somewhat similar to Dean's items, especially his items regarding the prevention of a 'shooting war', and promotion on the job stemming from the 'breaks'. Seeman's items also bear some resemblance to Srole's item regarding the uselessness of writing to public officials.

Middleton, as a result of a survey of recent alienation-anomia operationalisations, has attempted to develop attitude statements which will elicit all current usages of alienation.<sup>81</sup> Middleton's items are:

Powerlessness

There is not much that I can do about most of the important problems that we face today.

Meaninglessness

Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand just what is going on.

Normlessness

In order to get ahead in the world today, you are forced to do some things which are not right.

Cultural Estrangement

I am not much interested in the TV programs, movies, or magazines that most people seem to like.

Social Estrangement

I often feel lonely.

Estrangement from work

I don't really enjoy most of the work that I do, but I feel that I must do it in order to have other things that I need and want.<sup>82</sup>

Middleton's notions of powerlessness and meaninglessness seem to parallel those of Seeman, and his notion of meaninglessness is

very simil

statement

tion of no

necessary

to Seeman

alisation

contempor

Middleto

usages,

and Srol

develop

seems to

ment',

but onl

In

termin

level,

overla

tivel.

by se

feeli

infl

Mean

cut,

it w

pre



very similar to Dean's notions of 'normlessness'. Middleton's statement for normlessness explicitly follows Seeman's description of normlessness as the expectancy that unapproved means are necessary to achieve a goal. Cultural estrangement is similar to Seeman's definition of 'isolation', and Nettler's operationalization of alienation, in that it represents the rejection of contemporary mass society values. Social estrangement, as Middleton lists it, is not included in the Seeman survey of usages, but approximates Dean's usage of social isolation, and Srole's item about lack of friendship. Finally, Middleton develops an item which elicits estrangement from work, and seems to be very similar to Seeman's notion of 'self-estrangement', i.e., the feeling that behavior has no intrinsic value, but only in its effect or influence in obtaining future rewards.

In summary, it would appear that there is some amount of terminological confusion and empirical overlap at the operational level, as well as at the theoretical level. In spite of this overlap and confusion, however, there appear to be some relatively clear-cut usages. Powerlessness, for instance, is seen by several writers (Dean, Seeman, Clark and Middleton) as the feeling of the individual that he cannot control, or has no influence over, the majority of things that affect his life. Meaninglessness, in the Seeman sense, is somewhat less clear-cut, both in terminology and empirical referents. Generally, it would appear that meaninglessness refers to the inability to predict the outcome of any behavior. As such, the future

appears as

also would

and fourth

There

referring

values; a

work of s

is present

the Srole

set. Soc

represent

an alien

street.

Re-ex

tively g

and isol

a genera

Dean's s

items ab

constitu

usage.

Inter-C

Altho

separat

necessa

them na

appears as chaotic and dismal. This meaninglessness component also would appear to be present to some degree in Srole's second and fourth items.

There appear to be two clear varieties of isolation: one referring to the estrangement from, and rejection of, popular values; and the other referring to exclusion from a social network of social ties, e.g., friendships, etc. This latter variant is present in Dean's social isolation scale, and in one item in the Srole scale, as well as the intentional item in the Middleton set. Social isolation, as estrangement from mass values, is represented in Nettler's and Hajda's treatments, and is more of an alienation developed by intellectuals than by the man on the street.

Re-examining Srole's scale, it would appear that it is a relatively general scale, containing powerlessness, meaninglessness and isolation from social ties, plus some content referring to a general pessimistic outlook for the future, e.g., despair. Dean's scales also contain these sorts of items, as well as some items about the future. As such, these two scales would seem to constitute the most general scales available in contemporary usage.

#### Inter-Correlations of Alienation Scales

Although there is some basis for considering alienation as a separate but related phenomena, some sort of empirical tests are necessary. These are partially available, and an inspection of them may be helpful. First, from the Middleton study, it would

8P

wi

Pe

Me

Ho

C:

S:

\*

Y

Q

T

C

appear that all items are relatively highly inter-correlated, with the exception of cultural estrangement (Table 1).

Table 1: Inter-Correlations of Types of Alienation\* 83

	Meaning	Norm	Cult. Estrange.	Social Est.	Est. from Work
Powerlessness	.58	.61	.06	.54	.57
Meaninglessness	—	.59	.17	.46	.81
Normlessness	—	—	.31	.48	.67
Cultural estrangement	—	—	—	.08	.20
Social estrangement	—	—	—	—	.71

\* The number of cases is 256; the measure of association is Yule's Q. The values of X<sup>2</sup> for all relationships for which Q exceeds .30 are significant at the .05 level.

This would appear to give some justification for considering cultural estrangement as a separate, independent entity.

From a variety of other studies, we can see other types of inter-correlations between scales. Table 2 is constructed from the studies of Dean, Nettler and Simmons.<sup>84</sup> All figures are product moment correlations, and are significant at the .05 level. Where no information is available, "n.a." is entered.

Table 2: Inter-Correlations of Various Alienation Measures

	Powerlessness	Normlessness	Social Isolation	Nettler
Srole Scale	.35(S)	.25(S)	.23(S)	301(N)
		.31(D)		
Powerlessness		.43(S)	.53(S)	n.a.
		.67(D)	.54(D)	
Normlessness			.33(S)	n.a.
			.41(D)	
Social Isolation				n.a.
Nettler				

(S) = Simmons  
(D) = Dean  
(N) = Nettler

These in

is some de

ationaliza

none of th

cate that

Two recent

there is

zations o

and Retti

ing purpo

(1)

(2)

norm

of f

atic

dete

pow

With th

politic

develo

annual

extrac

orthop

found

S

to d

iani

dim

on.

These inter-correlations would seem to indicate that there is some degree of empirical overlap between the various operationalizations of alienation, and its sub-types. The fact that none of the correlations is very high, however, would also indicate that there is considerable room for independent variance. Two recent attempts to discover—via factor analysis—whether there is a common factor underlying these various operationalizations of alienation, do little to resolve our problem. Neal and Rettig, in their factor analytic study, presented the following purposes:

- (1) To develop measures of powerlessness and normlessness;
- (2) to test the orthogonality of the powerlessness and normlessness measures from Srole's anomie scale by means of factor analysis; (3) to compare the structure of alienation among manual and non-manual workers; and (4) to determine the relationship of status aspiration to the powerlessness and normlessness dimensions of alienation.<sup>85</sup>

With these intentions, then, a series of items which measured political and economic powerlessness and normlessness were developed. Then, separate factor analyses were performed for manual and non-manual workers separately, with nine factors extracted. As expected, Srole's anomie scale was found to be orthogonal to alienation, and various forms of alienation were found to be orthogonal to each other.

Struening and Richardson, in another factor analytic attempt to determine the structure of the alienation-anomia-authoritarianism nexus, found that the Srole scale fell upon the general dimension of 'alienation' which the alienation items also loaded on.<sup>86</sup> Their conclusion was that alienation and anomia (Srole)

were of the  
complicate m  
Real and Ret  
provides no  
nality of th  
Real and Re  
oblique fac  
Therefore, I  
rejected.

#### Relationshi

Since th  
and more re  
there has b  
scales. In  
our review  
alienation  
the indivi  
using an a  
studies in  
less 'pat

By pur  
alienatio  
it is ope  
related c  
(usually  
usually t



were of the same general underlying factor. And to further complicate matters, Cartwright has written a critique of the Neal and Rettig article, stating that their factor analysis provides no answers to the questions of the possible orthogonality of the various factors.<sup>87</sup> His principle reason is that Neal and Rettig's analysis did not allow for the possibility of oblique factors, and necessarily developed orthogonal factors. Therefore, he argues, their hypotheses are neither confirmed nor rejected.

#### Relationships of Alienation to Other Variables

Since the development of the Srole scale for measuring anomia, and more recently, the development of various alienation scales, there has been an explosion of empirical studies using these scales. In this section, we will review these studies, although our review cannot be exhaustive. Following our concern with alienation as a state of explicitly operationalized feeling of the individual, we will concern ourselves only with those studies using an attitudinal type of alienation or anomia. Most of these studies indicate a relationship between alienation and a more or less 'pathological' variable.

By pursuing this review, we would also hope to note that alienation is a relatively stable area of phenomena (however it is operationalized) in that we hope to indicate that it is related consistently to a set of antecedent structural variables (usually social class) and to a set of consequential variables—usually held to be of a quasi-pathological nature. We shall

conclude

between

One o

between

piece, 8

tariani

tionshi

on the

ism to

for, bu

sia, f

author

report

lessne

Throug

a rela

and pr

Ot.

relat

Sinmo

scale

satis

alie

a wi

goal

ingn

conclude with a discussion of anomia as an intervening variable between social class and these quasi-pathological variables.

One of the most consistent findings has been a relationship between anomia/alienation and authoritarianism. In his original piece, Srole reports a relationship between anomia and authoritarianism, and prejudice, with anomia accounting for the relationship of authoritarianism to prejudice.<sup>88</sup> Roberts and Rokeach, on the other hand, contend that the relationship of authoritarianism to prejudice did not disappear when anomia was controlled for, but remained relatively high.<sup>89</sup> McDill, in a factor analysis, finds about the same thing, i.e., that both anomia and authoritarianism contribute equally to prejudice.<sup>90</sup> Dean also reports relationships between alienation (powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation sub-scales) and authoritarianism.<sup>91</sup> Throughout this set of studies, it is clear that there does exist a relationship between alienation/anomia and authoritarianism—and prejudice towards ethnic minorities.

Other studies indicate that alienation/anomia is further related to other forms of pathological behaviors or attitudes. Simmons finds that anomia (Srole scale) and alienation (Dean scales) are related to misanthropy, low self-esteem, life dissatisfaction and attitude uncertainty.<sup>92</sup> Rosenberg found that alienation—as operationalized by faith in people—is related to a willingness to use disapproved means in order to reach a goal.<sup>93</sup> Angell finds a relationship between anomia and a willingness to invade other's privacy, as well as prejudice.<sup>94</sup>

McPhail

by the

is rela

socio-e

tions (

occupat

low ano

Biggar

McDill

were in

politic

was rel

achieve

social

Net

ment)

Seeman

dimens

tion a

(3) po

and sa

Per

the re

ing ha

of bot

empiri

McPhail finds a relationship between alienation—as measured by the Dean scales—and dogmatism.<sup>95</sup> Rhodes finds that anomia is related to one's level of aspiration, regardless of the socio-economic level, with high anomia related to high aspirations (discrepancy between occupational aspiration and father's occupation).<sup>96</sup> Tumin and Collins find a relationship between low anomia and readiness to desegregate, although Photiadis and Biggar found no relationship of anomia to ethnic distance.<sup>97,98</sup> McDill and Ridley found that anomia and political alienation were inversely related to voting, and having an opinion on political issues.<sup>99</sup> Pearlin found that alienation from work was related to isolated working conditions, feelings of limited achievement, dissatisfaction with work rewards, and lack of social ties with co-workers.<sup>100</sup>

Nettler and Hajda find that alienation (as cultural estrangement) is related to feelings of psychological instability.<sup>101,102</sup> Seeman, in his various studies, has found that the powerlessness dimension of alienation is related to (1) learning new information about a social system, (2) organizational participation, (3) possession of objective knowledge about a social system, and satisfaction with this knowledge.<sup>103</sup>

Perhaps the most significant and stable finding, however, is the relationship between social status and anomia. This finding has recurred numerous times, and with many different measures of both anomia or alienation, and socio-economic status. In the empirical inventory of anomia studies provided in Clinard's

Anomie and

teen studies

there was a

These st

lower class

and to the

the relatio

the lower o

of social p

#### SUMMARY

In summa

and the var

related, no

they are re

the same ge

That is, at

very simila

appear to b

point, is t

relationshi

If they are

obviously a

empirical d

Of the v

both an emj

variant of

Anomie and Deviant Behavior, we note that in all of the thirteen studies explicitly involving status and anomia/alienation, there was an inverse relationship.<sup>104</sup>

These studies indeed lend credence to the notion that the lower class contains disproportionate numbers of anomie persons, and to the use of anomia as an interpretive variable explaining the relationship of lower classness and deviant behavior. That the lower class contains disproportionate numbers and examples of social problems is too well known to require documentation.

### Summary

In summary, it would appear that as yet anomia, alienation and the various sub-types of alienation are not highly inter-related, nor do they form an empirical identity. It may be that they are related to each other as are the different species of the same genus, as opposed to species of different genera. That is, at one level, using one set of comparisons, they are very similar, but comparing them to some other phenomena, they appear to be very different. All one could argue, at this point, is that they should be kept separate in the study of the relationship of alienation to variables of different genera. If they are similarly related to this variable, then it is obviously a logical difference between sub-types that makes no empirical difference (at least for that variable).

Of the various types of alienation, it would appear from both an empirical and operational point of view that the Seeman variant of isolation—or cultural estrangement of Middleton, or

alienation of Nettler and Hajda—is perhaps the most separable and distinct element. Isolation or cultural estrangement, however, is thought to be most characteristic of intellectuals, and, therefore, perhaps should not be considered a phenomena characteristic of mass society in general. If we recall Feuer's comments, it also may be that this cultural estrangement factor is the 'alienation' he is attributing to intellectuals.

At this point, we shall also begin to take into account the characterizations of Nettler, Meier and Bell, and McDill, regarding the nature of the Srole scale, in particular.<sup>105</sup>

Nettler feels that the Srole scale does not measure anomia, but its correlate, despair. Meier and Bell concur, to a degree, and state that:

We are convinced that these questions for the most part measure despair, that is, utter hopelessness and discouragement . . . We emphasize the notion of despair in the interpretation of our findings, although alienation appears to be measured in some degree as well . . . We have adopted the term 'anomia' to refer to the Srole scale, but other terms such as 'despair', 'hopelessness', 'discouragement', 'personal disorganization', 'demoralization' (especially in the sense of disheartenment), in our understanding of the phenomena being measured.<sup>106</sup>

McDill, upon finding that the Srole scale statements, authoritarianism, and prejudice, as well as economic factors loaded on one factor in a factor analytic study, characterized this underlying dimension as:

A Weltanschauung which is negative in nature, that is, it represents a dim world view. The high loadings of all five of the anomie items reflect . . . a lack of interpersonal integration. Stated in other terms, this is the perspective of being mastered by threatening forces beyond one's personal control . . . that the way to live and be supported in this threatening world is through obedience



to author  
or a right

Perhaps wh

city of the d

simply the d

Seeman implic

clear that th

alienation.

individual i

the various

tion or anon

isations in

definition o

cated by his

the personal

situation.

Given the

would perha

tion, and s

specified o

Empirica

nomia, and

we can conc

between cla

considerati

are also re

Durkheim-Me

to authority figures and through conventionalism or a rigid acceptance of the status quo. 107

Perhaps what is at issue here is the narrowness or specificity of the definition of alienation. If anomia/alienation is simply the discrepancy between desired and achieved goals (or as Seeman implies, a low expectancy of control, etc.), then it is clear that the Srole scale, as well as others, do not measure alienation. On the other hand, if anomia is the state of the individual in such a situation, then that which is measured by the various scales may also logically be thought of as alienation or anomia. It is instructive to note Seeman's operationalisations in this regard. Although he gives a relatively narrow definition of alienation, his operational definitions—as indicated by his scale statements—are relatively broad, and include the personal feelings of the individual in the low expectancy situation.

Given the stable, but relatively low inter-correlations, we would perhaps argue that 'despair' may be a sub-type of alienation, and subject to the same family-genus classification we specified on the previous page.

Empirically, we note a high correlation between class and anomia, and between anomia and social problems. To this point, we can conclude that anomia may well be an intervening variable between class and social problems. This sets the stage for a consideration of other types of stratification variables which are also related to social problems, and which may exemplify the Durkheim-Merton rationale and thereby create anomia.

So

It has been  
stable phenom  
and quasi-pat  
explain these  
ing the devel  
lower-class  
tells he shou  
we would seek  
of stratifica  
These are soc  
presents the  
reasons for a  
that social m  
logically ex  
mobility and  
number of qua  
monia and lo  
ent to hypot  
status incon  
Social Mobil  
In Spici  
factor in cr  
downward mot  
They [mo  
their mo  
adjust  
them to

## Social Mobility and Status Inconsistency

It has been indicated that anomia and alienation are relatively stable phenomena in terms of their relationship to lower classness and quasi-pathological behaviors. The rationale utilized to explain these findings is the basic Durkheim-Merton theory regarding the development of a discrepancy between those goals that a lower-class person is able to achieve, and those goals which he feels he should legitimately be able to attain. At this point, we would seek to extend this rationale to include two other types of stratification variables which logically may also produce anomia. These are social mobility and status inconsistency. This section presents the argument that there are both theoretical and empirical reasons for making this extension. First, it may be illustrated that social mobility and status inconsistency theoretically and logically exemplify the Durkheim-Merton rationale; second, social mobility and status inconsistency are empirically related to a number of quasi-pathological variables of the same sort that anomia and lower classness are. Therefore, it would be congruent to hypothesize a relationship between social mobility and status inconsistency, and alienation.

### Social Mobility

In Suicide, Durkheim explicitly singles out mobility as a factor in creating conditions which in turn lead to anomia. In downward mobility, for example:

They [mobile persons] must reduce their requirements . . . their moral education has recommenced. But society cannot adjust them instantaneously to this new life and teach them to practice the increased self-repression to which

they are  
condition  
intolerable

That is, persons

expectations

but attain the

discrepancy of

the same dynamic

status, a person

legitimately

person to do

also notes that

actions is re-

outstripping

And again, a

he should ac-

In contem-

modified, as

social mobil-

Perhaps

varying

status d

logical

indicate

in person

in one s-

Aspect then

the relation

Ortheim's in

This gene-

relationships of

they are unaccustomed. So they are not adjusted to the condition forced upon them, and its very prospect is intolerable. <sup>108</sup>

That is, persons who are downwardly mobile continue to base their expectations for goal achievement upon their previous statuses, but attain these goals with their new lowered status, so that a discrepancy exists, which in turn creates anomia. Approximately the same dynamic applies to upward mobility. In his new higher status, a person attains more goals than he could have expected legitimately in his old status. This, in turn, leads the mobile person to doubt the efficacy and legitimacy of all norms. Durkheim also notes that when the efficacy of the norms as a limit to aspirations is reduced, the aspirations of the individual spiral upward, outstripping the attainments that even the new status can afford. And again, a discrepancy exists between what the individual thinks he should achieve, and what he actually achieves.

In contemporary sociology, this rationale has been little modified, as is evident by inspecting Lipset's recent survey of social mobility and its consequences:

Perhaps the most important key to an explanation of such varying consequences of mobility . . . is the concept of status discrepancies . . . The few analyses of the psychological dimension of this problem that have been made indicate that status discrepancies may cause difficulties in personal adjustment because of high self-evaluations in one sphere of life conflict with low ones in another. <sup>109</sup>

Lipset then goes on to cite Durkheim and his original rationale for the relationship of mobility and anomia, presumably indicating that Durkheim's interpretation remains adequate.

This general rationale of strain is used to explain the relationships of mobility to mental illness, <sup>110</sup> prejudice, <sup>111</sup> social

isolation, 11

or radicalis

pathological

for example

quences of

Although

damaging co

rationale a

examines th

per se. T

is far fro

mobile we

for highe

anoxic.

or contam

return to

ity and

Status I

Statu

over st

various

to have

yet 'ch

attach

somewh

the pr

isolation,<sup>112</sup> political apathy,<sup>113</sup> or political liberalism or radicalism,<sup>114</sup> etc. Lipset also cites as evidence of the pathological consequences, "many recent books (The Exurbanites, for example)[which] portray the damaging psychological consequences of mobility and competition within elite professions."<sup>115</sup>

Although fairly numerous studies indicate the possible damaging consequences of mobility, and utilize the discrepancy rationale as an explanatory device, only one study explicitly examines the relationship between social mobility and anomia, per se. This was done by Meier and Bell, and the relationship is far from clear.<sup>116</sup> Among those of low status, the upwardly mobile were less anomic than the stable and downwardly mobile; for higher status persons, however, the stable were the least anomic. This would seem to indicate some degree of interaction or contamination of social mobility with average status. We shall return to the relationship of status inconsistency, social mobility and average status in a later section.

### Status Inconsistency

Status inconsistency had its beginning with Hughes' concern over status as position, and Benoit-Smullyan's concern with various types of status.<sup>117</sup> Hughes argues that a position came to have associated with it, certain non-essential or secondary, yet 'characteristic' factors, e.g., the position "doctor" has attached to it the characteristics of also being male, white and somewhat older. Hughes was concerned, then, with persons fitting the primary characteristic of a role but not the secondary char-



acteristi

He argues

situation

acteristi

doctor vi

set, then

modations

Benoit

which one

sional ph

example,

conceive

then take

this unid.

weighted,

possible

class con

composed

unidimens

continuum

possibili

or may no

ance in t.

It was

sional vi

original

acteristics, e.g., the doctor who is young, Negro and female. He argues that such persons were often placed in ambiguous situations because others had come to expect the secondary characteristics as well as the primary characteristics, and the Negro doctor violated these expectations. Given this ambiguous status set, then, the person may be forced to make some sorts of accommodations to this unusual situation.

Benoit-Smullyan, however, was concerned with the degree to which one conceives of status as a unidimensional or multi-dimensional phenomena. Many persons, like Hollingshead and Warner, for example, utilize a uni-dimensional conceptualization.<sup>118</sup> They conceive of social status as a single underlying variable, and then take a number of variables as indicators of positions on this unidimensional continuum. This set of indicators is then weighted, etc. (or more likely, averaged) so as to obtain the best possible index of the person's standing on the status or social class continuum. Others, however, conceive of status as being composed of several different variables, and not necessarily unidimensional, or as indicative or average standing on a general continuum. Given this possibility, then, there also exists the possibility that a person's scores on the set of variables may or may not be congruent, i.e., there may be more or less variance in the individual status set.

It was not until 1954 that the possibility of a multi-dimensional view of social class was acted upon, by Lenski, in his original paper, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimen-

sion of S  
way of a  
an incons  
subject t  
lized sta  
who had c  
and findi  
Lanski su  
example o  
different  
would be  
frustrati  
avenue of  
Althoug  
tency, li  
this new v  
tency squa  
ing the ex  
when one c  
to contra  
"expectat  
also appe  
tainment"  
upon the s  
bility of  
Pestinger

sion of Social Status."<sup>119</sup> In this paper, there was little by way of a priori theory, except to suggest that a person in such an inconsistent, or incongruent position, would in some way be subject to strain. Lenski argues that persons with uncrystallized statuses would be more liberal than would those persons who had congruent statuses. After testing this hypothesis, and finding a relationship between inconsistency and liberalism, Lenski suggested the ad hoc explanatory device: citing Hughes' example of the Negro doctor, he argues that persons who occupy different positions on several different status hierarchies would be more likely to have experiences of an unpleasant and frustrating nature, which would lead them to search for an avenue of escape, or rectification of this frustrating situation.

Although there were several studies using status inconsistency, little else was done of a theoretical nature regarding this new variable. Sampson, however, places status inconsistency squarely in the Merton-Durkheim tradition, by emphasizing the expectations that accompany statuses, and arguing that when one occupies discrepant statuses, then one is also subject to contradictory expectations of others.<sup>120</sup> Sampson discusses "expectations" in the interpersonal behavior context. It would also appear logical to place it into the more general "goal attainment" context (i.e., one's expectations of rewards are based upon the statuses that one holds). Then, he places this possibility of discrepancy into the psychological framework of Festinger's dissonance theory, and argues that status inconsis-

tency also

a strain t

sistent pe

called out

Interes

is reminer

Waisanen.

cal tander

link betw

Aside :

be empiri

alienatio

which pro

pathologi

average s

forms of

pathologi

In Len

ship betw

interpret

nature of

not exist

status in

the distr

sistents

groups. 12

such more

tency also produces cognitive dissonance, which in turn produces a strain towards reduction of the dissonance. Thus, the inconsistent person is called upon to make efforts that would not be called out in a person who occupied consistent statuses.

Interestingly enough, the convergence developed by Sampson is reminiscent of the convergence in alienation theory by Waisanen.<sup>121</sup> By further placing these two theories into logical tandem, we are able to demonstrate a logical theoretical link between status inconsistency and alienation/anomia.

Aside from theoretical reasons, there would also appear to be empirical reasons for suggesting such a relationship. If alienation is an intervening variable between social conditions which produce discrepancies in expectations, and more or less pathological behaviors, then status inconsistency, just as average status and social mobility, should be related to various forms of behaviors which can be construed as 'adaptive' or pathological. These sorts of relationships appear to exist.

In Lenski's original study, for example, he finds a relationship between status inconsistency and political liberalism, and interprets political liberalism to be an effort at changing the nature of the social order so that discrepancies in status will not exist.<sup>122</sup> Further, Goffman finds a relationship between status inconsistency and expression of a desire for a change in the distribution of power, and Geschwender finds that inconsistencies are much more likely to participate in change-oriented groups.<sup>123,124</sup> Ringer and Sills find that inconsistencies are much more likely to be political extremists than consistent.<sup>125</sup>

In term

Jackson fi

symptoms c

sistents s

consistent

sistents s

minority g

foreign bo

mobility;

neighborho

inconsiste

present or

imagine a

In summ

status inc

strain bet

actually c

statutes s

and privi

as the bel

knowledge

a guide to

of expect

in a soci

integrati

loosely a

possess s

In terms of more explicitly pathological types of behaviors, Jackson finds that inconsistent are more likely to exhibit symptoms of psychological stress, and Lenski finds that inconsistent are more likely to be socially isolated, than are consistent.<sup>126,127</sup> Geschwender also has evidence that inconsistent are more likely to: (1) express hostilities toward minority groups in the work force, e.g., women, Negroes and foreign born; (2) have higher geographical and horizontal job mobility; (3) express less satisfaction with their job and their neighborhood.<sup>128</sup> The author also had data which indicate that inconsistent rate themselves lower as to where they stand at present on a rating scale with the best possible life they can imagine at one end, and the worst possible life at the other.<sup>129</sup>

In summary, our argument states that social mobility and status inconsistency exemplify conditions which may produce a strain between that which an actor expects, and that which he actually obtains. Following Durkheim, we would argue that statuses are composed of sets of norms, which specify the rights and privileges or rewards associated with the status, as well as the behaviors which are required of such statuses. Further, knowledge of various statuses furnishes persons not only with a guide to their own behaviors and expectations, but with a set of expectations for other persons in particular statuses. Now, in a society with a large degree of specialization and loose integration, it is possible for various statuses also to be loosely articulated, so that at any one time, an individual may possess several different statuses. It is also possible for a



person to de  
any combinat  
expectations  
statutes.

If these  
actor is in  
Consider the  
have a high  
If the perso  
educational  
obtains rewa  
then a discr  
what he actu  
expectation-  
It is to arg  
that such pe  
than are per  
And to the  
ancies, the

Much the  
the person  
moves away  
ity of a di  
mobile, eit  
Given th  
hypothesize  
ity, and st

person to develop expectations based upon any one status or any combination of these statuses, and have other persons make expectations of him, based upon any combination of these statuses.

If these statuses are not supportive or congruent, then, the actor is in a position of conflicting demands and expectations. Consider the status inconsistency situation where a person may have a high educational status, and a low occupational status. If the person bases his expectation of rewards upon his high educational status and expects high rewards, and he actually obtains rewards or goals based upon his low occupational status, then a discrepancy exists between the reward he expected and what he actually obtained. This is not to argue that such an expectation-achievement discrepancy will, in fact, always develop. It is to argue, as did Merton with respect to the lower class, that such persons are more likely to develop such a discrepancy than are persons who do not possess such incongruent statuses. And to the degree that they are more likely to develop discrepancies, they are also more likely to develop alienation.

Much the same rationale exists for social mobility, in that the person develops expectations based on one status, and then moves away from that status into another, so that the possibility of a discrepancy is more likely than if he had not been mobile, either upward or downward.

Given the above discussion, it would appear justifiable to hypothesize a relationship between social status, social mobility, and status inconsistency and alienation, because they all

exhibit the  
expectation  
to alienati  
tion of the  
then we mus  
between av  
strated.  
for the exi  
class and

Prior  
issue of  
be discuss

Relations  
Inconsist

Let u  
alienati  
The rati  
ledge of  
applicab  
top of  
tionate  
sequent  
when on  
would a

The  
respec  
upward

exhibit the possibility of developing a discrepancy between expectations and attainments. If they are, in fact, related to alienation, this would constitute an extension and validation of the Durkheim-Merton rationale; if they are not related, then we must seek some other explanation of the relationship between average status and anomia, which has been amply demonstrated. We must also, then, seek an alternative explanation for the existing relationships between mobility, inconsistency, class and these more or less pathological characteristics.

Prior to a simple statement of hypotheses, however, the issue of the inter-relationships of these three variables must be discussed, as must the nature of alienation.

#### Relationship of Average Status, Social Mobility and Status Inconsistency

Let us begin our discussion with the relationship of class to alienation, and more or less use it as our base of presentation. The rationale here is that there is within the cultural knowledge of the United States, a set of specified goals, which are applicable to all Americans. Then, as one gets closer to the top of the stratification system, one should achieve proportionately more of these culturally specified goals. And, consequently, there should be proportionately less alienation, when one compares a higher status with a lower status. This would appear to be the case.

The relationship of average status and social mobility with respect to alienation, however, is not independent. Consider upward mobility, for instance. The very change itself is likely

to create a  
upwardly mob  
higher statu  
he should ha  
could examin  
comparing w  
Another fac  
mobility pe  
any adverse  
The issue o  
persons, t  
is, in add  
higher tha  
newly lowe  
in status  
person sh  
upwardly  
operating  
terms of  
any clas  
upwardly  
ated bec  
but also  
With  
persons  
ical a  
tions.

to create a discrepancy, and thereby create alienation. An upwardly mobile person, however, has also moved up, and has a higher status, so that when compared to lower-class persons, he should have less alienation than they. In any case, one could examine the effects of upward mobility, per se, only by comparing within one class, stable and upwardly mobile persons. Another factor mentioned by Meier and Bell, is that the upward mobility per se is a goal achievement which may in fact mitigate any adverse effects due to goals outstripping achievements.<sup>130</sup> The issue of control, however, remains. For downwardly mobile persons, the reverse of the above argument should operate. That is, in addition to the mobility effects (which should produce higher than average alienation) we also have the effects of the newly lower status, as well as the ignominy of a recent decrease in status. In this situation, however, the downwardly mobile person should be more alienated than either the stable or the upwardly mobile person. If we accumulate the various factors operating in mobility, it would appear justifiable to rank, in terms of the expected amount of alienation, mobile persons of any class in the following order: downwardly mobile, stable, and upwardly mobile. The downwardly mobile should be the most alienated because they have not only the newly acquired low status, but also because of the ignominious effects of 'failure'.

With respect to the comparison of upwardly mobile and stable persons of the same class level, there appear to be three empirical alternatives, with three different theoretical interpretations. First, if the upwardly mobiles are no more alienated than

the stables

ity equally

the upward

the stable

alienated

cess of mo

mobile per

is stable

the upwar

person, w

not count

leads the

to the s

Another

in the h

of intra

in the

of our

it is u

his ind

mobili

bility

(and u

would

genera

In

In te

the stables, then we would argue that the "success" of mobility equally balances the effect of the change per se, so that the upwardly mobile person is no more or no less alienated than the stable person. Second, if the upwardly mobile person is less alienated than the stable person, we would argue that the success of mobility over-balances the effect of change, so that the mobile person has achieved more of his goals than the person who is stable in a class, and is thereby less alienated. Third, if the upwardly mobile person is more alienated than the stable person, we would argue that the success of upward mobility does not counterbalance the effect of change per se, so that this leads the mobile person to a state of high alienation compared to the stable person.

Another confounding factor is the impossibility of a person in the highest class being downwardly mobile, at least in terms of intra-generational and likewise, it is impossible for a person in the lowest class to be upwardly mobile. This is an artifact of our mode of constructing the class index, but nevertheless, it is unavoidable—if one uses intra-generational mobility as his index of mobility. In order to obtain independence of mobility from class—to thereby assure us of the logical possibility of downwardly mobile persons in the highest class levels (and upwardly mobile persons in the lowest class level)—we would suggest the use of inter-generational rather than intra-generational mobility.

Inter-generational mobility also has its share of problems. In terms of the discrepancy created by mobility, and the amount



of time available  
obvious that  
national mobility  
the difference  
inter-generational  
would intra-generational  
inter- as well as intra-generational  
we would state that  
more logical

As to the  
inconsistency  
suggestions  
relationships  
consistency  
realization  
but suggests  
resolution

First,  
generation  
ity, then  
For example  
he has his  
as income  
and income  
may be considered  
high school

of time available for 'adjustment' to the discrepancy, it is obvious that there is more 'adjustment time' in inter-generational mobility than in intra-generational mobility. Due to the differences in this adjustive potential, it is likely that inter-generational mobility will produce less alienation than would intra-generational mobility. In that Meier and Bell find inter- as well as intra-generational mobility related to anomia, we would still suggest that inter-generational mobility is a more logically adequate measure for this study.<sup>131</sup>

As to the theoretical and logical relationships of status inconsistency and social mobility, we can make few a priori suggestions. It would appear that there are logically possible relationships between almost any type of mobility and status inconsistency. But it depends largely upon the type and operationalisation of mobility. We shall not delve deeply into this area but suggest a few of the problems involved, and the tentative resolution that we propose.

First, there is the general problem of inter- versus intra-generational mobility. If we consider intra-generational mobility, then status inconsistency and mobility may be confounded. For example, a young college graduate, as yet non-mobile because he has his first lowly job with low income, may be classified as inconsistent as his education is out of line with his job and income. But if he is interviewed after his mobility, he may be classified as consistent. On the other hand, an older, high school graduate, who has been occupationally mobile into a

highly rat  
the former  
it results  
relations  
inconsist  
in an ind  
culations  
life cycl  
bility of  
degree of

With  
perhaps  
related  
city, th  
inconsis  
and a sc  
he is mo  
white bo  
move in  
seeable  
inconsi

Perh  
that st  
It is l  
and low  
the fac  
must be

highly rated occupation, will be labeled as inconsistent. In the former case, mobility resulted in consistency; in the latter, it resulted in inconsistency. In any case, working out the relationships between intra-generational mobility and status inconsistency would require an extensive history of the changes in an individual's education, occupation and income, with calculations of mobility and consistency at several stages of the life cycle. This would also introduce a problem in the comparability of life cycle stages and generations, as well as a high degree of complexity.

With inter-generational mobility, the problem remains, but perhaps is not so extensive. Insofar as occupations are correlated with other prestige factors, and especially with ethnicity, then the inter-generational mobility of a son may produce inconsistency. For example, if a father is a Negro laborer, and a son is occupationally mobile, but not ethnically mobile, he is mobile to an inconsistent position. Or, if a father is a white banker, then an occupational mobile (downward) son may move into an inconsistent situation. These are the only foreseeable logical possibilities of spuriousness in the status inconsistency mobility nexus.

Perhaps the most serious control problem stems from the fact that status inconsistency is not logically independent of status. It is logically impossible for persons who are in the highest and lowest average status levels to be inconsistent by virtue of the fact that to be in the lowest or highest class, individuals must have consistently high or low ranks on all dimensions.

Average st.

person is

status is

is only in

expect th

As wit

taneous e

confound

increase

But also

is more

statist.

This

ency an

but the

much to

approac

group

(both

ent le

was a

a grou

high

were

sampl

might

and a

Average status, in the middle status ranges, may occur if the person is consistently middle on all dimensions or if his middle status is a combination of both high and low statuses. And it is only in the exact middle of the status range that one can expect the highest degrees of inconsistency.

As with mobility, then, the possibility exists that the simultaneous effects of status inconsistency and average status will confound each other in these middle levels. That is, as one increases status he is decreasing the likelihood of alienation. But also, as one increases status, from low to middle levels, one is more likely (logically) to be inconsistent—or at least in a statistical-logical sense.

This problem of the confounding effects of status inconsistency and average status has been recognized in previous studies, but these previous attempts at handling the problem have left much to be desired. Lenski and Landecker, for example, have approached control by removing from the 'extremely inconsistent' group those respondents with the most extreme status scores (both high and low status) until the inconsistent and consistent levels had equal status averages.<sup>132,133</sup> In effect, this was a form of matching. But only for the consistency level as a group. And, it is not a random form of matching, i.e., the high and low status persons were not randomly selected, but were removed systematically. This, of course, takes out of the sample those persons who—due to their extreme status positions—might contribute most to a relationship between average status and alienation.

In view

between s

ity to al

contain w

suggest s

to achie

of statu

dle rang

This, of

to assu

these t

status

in alie

within

With

there

ation

sub-di

may co

to sou

to ot

tion

that

alien

We

and

In view of the above, a simple statement of a relationship between status inconsistency, average status, and social mobility to alienation is not an adequate test; the hypothesis must contain within it a statement of control. Therefore, we would suggest a traditional form of multi-variant control. In order to achieve this, though, one must have a relatively large number of status groups or levels, so that there will be several 'middle range' levels of status in which inconsistency may vary. This, of course, means that one must have a relatively large N to assure sufficient representation in all status levels. With these two conditions satisfied, it would be possible to hold status more or less constant, and to observe the differences in alienation among the various status inconsistency groups within a given status level.

With respect to the tentative dependent variable, alienation, there are two suggestions. First, we have observed that alienation apparently has several related but partially independent sub-dimensions. Specifically, our observation was that they may constitute a unitary phenomena when placed in juxtaposition to some variables, yet independent phenomena when counterposed to other variables. Therefore, our suggestion is that alienation be considered in its sub-dimensions for any study, and that in that study a determination be made as to whether or not alienation constitutes separate or a single dimension.

We must also recall the conclusions of McDill, and Meier and Bell, regarding the nature of much of this alienation-anomia



phenomena,

Weltanschauung

event that

dent measu

measure ca

stratific

With t

series of

to aliena

Our v

between

to alie

once mo

present

necessa

partic

nature

detail

1.

and t

less

his

expe

than

phenomena, i.e., that it measure 'despair' or a "negative Weltanschauung" rather than alienation or anomia.<sup>134</sup> In the event that this is so, we would suggest a logically independent measure of satisfaction with one's life, or despair. This measure can then be correlated with alienation, and the various stratification measures.

With these qualifications, then, it is possible to state a series of hypotheses regarding the relationship of stratification to alienation.

### Hypotheses

Our very general hypothesis is that if there are relationships between average status, status inconsistency and social mobility to alienation, then Durkheim-Merton discrepancy rationale is once more validated. If all of these relationships are not present, however, then a different explanatory rationale is necessary to handle the relationships which do in fact exist, particularly that of social class to alienation. Given the nature of our arguments thus far, however, a more specific detailed statement of hypotheses is deemed necessary.

1. We expect an inverse relationship between average status and the various forms of alienation, i.e., powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation, as well as to one's estimation of his present standing, and his future outlook. That is, we expect persons with lower average status to be more alienated than persons with higher average status.

2. We expect little or no relationship between status incon-

sistency and

present stan

3. We exp

mobility and

Specifically,

the most al

between sta

alienation,

4. (a) W

and alienat

mobility and

(b) V

alienation

status and

expect tha

when the c

contamina

(c)

alienatio

for avera

Especially

to alien

for upwa

we would

persons

status

of alie

sistency and the various forms of alienation, estimation of present standing, and future outlook.

3. We expect that there will be a relationship between social mobility and alienation, present standing, and future outlook. Specifically, we expect that downwardly mobile persons will be the most alienated, etc., and relatively little difference between stable and upwardly mobile persons, with respect to alienation, etc.

4. (a) We expect that the relationship between average status and alienation, etc., to remain constant when controls for social mobility and stat inconsistency are instituted.

(b) We expect that a relationship of status inconsistency to alienation, etc., will become obvious when controls for average status and social mobility are instituted. Literally, we would expect that these relationships will be pronounced and definite when the controls are instituted, because of the removal of the contaminating effects of average status and social mobility.

(c) We expect that the relationship of social mobility to alienation, etc., remain constant or to increase when controls for average status and status inconsistency are instituted. Especially for average status, where the relationship of status to alienation will be controlled, and the "confounding" effects for upwardly mobile persons are removed, i.e., in this instance, we would expect that there will be a discrimination between stable persons in a status level, and persons upwardly mobile to that status level, with the latter category having the higher level of alienation, etc.

5. (a) W

to alienati

status inco

simultaneo

(b)

sistency a

the relat

when simu

mobility

(c)

ity and

fied (ov

order le

sistenc

Fina

tested

1, 2, s

(shoul

ity, i

average

measur

in ot

and a

5. (a) We expect that the relationship of average status to alienation, etc., will remain constant when controls for status inconsistency and social mobility are instituted simultaneously.

(b) We expect that the relationship between status inconsistency and alienation, etc., will be further intensified (over the relationship we expect to appear at the second order level) when simultaneous controls for average status and social mobility are instituted.

(c) We expect that the relationship between social mobility and alienation, etc., will be further intensified and clarified (over the relationship we expect to appear at the second order level) when controls for average status and status inconsistency are instituted simultaneously.

Finally, we would note that the general hypothesis will be tested only by testing specific hypotheses 4 and 5; hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 will not provide such a test. Hypothesis 1 will (should it be confirmed) provide us with an estimate of validity, i.e., if there is a relationship in this study between average status and alienation, we can assume that we are measuring the same sort of phenomena that has been measured in other studies reporting relationships between average status and alienation.

1. Emile Durkheim  
George Simmel

2. Emile Durkheim  
George Simmel

3. Ibid.,

4. Ibid.,

5. Ibid.

6. Robert Merton  
New York:

7. Ibid.,

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Why a  
towards a  
been full

12. Merton

13. There  
term to  
'anomia'  
to a soc

14. Robert  
ities in  
1959),

15. Richard  
Behavior  
175.

16. Jan  
Deviant  
Press,

17. Edu  
ation,

18. An  
anomia  
and Jo

19. W  
psych

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

1. Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. George Simpson (New York: The Free Press, 1947).
2. Emile Durkheim, Suicide, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (New York: The Free Press, 1951).
3. Ibid., p. 241.
4. Ibid., p. 250.
5. Ibid.
6. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (rev.ed.; New York: The Free Press, 1957).
7. Ibid., p. 162.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 133.
10. Ibid., p. 162.
11. Why anomie should create disequilibrium and a consequent strain towards adaptation as a method of restoring equilibrium has never been fully discussed.
12. Merton, op. cit., p. 162(fn.2) and p. 164(fn.8).
13. There has been a traditional terminological turmoil as to what term to use, e.g., anomy, anomia, anomie, etc. We shall use 'anomia' to refer to an individual condition and anomie to refer to a societal condition.
14. Robert Dubin, "Deviant Behavior and Social Structure: Continuities in Social Theory," American Sociological Review, 24(April, 1959), 147-164.
15. Richard A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," American Sociological Review, 24(April, 1959), 164-176.
16. James F. Short, Jr., "Gang Delinquency and Anomie," Anomie and Deviant Behavior, ed. Marshall B. Clinard (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 98-127.
17. Edwin M. Lemert, "Social Structure, Social Control and Deviation," in Clinard, op. cit., pp. 57-97.
18. Among those who have advanced salient criticisms of anomie and anomia theory per se are Howard S. Becker, Alfred R. Lindesmith and John Gagnon.
19. We will not consider Lasswell here because of his explicitly psychological bent.



20. Robert M. Macmillan Co.
21. Leo Srol  
An Explorato  
ber, 1956),
22. Ibid., p.
23. Ibid., p.  
equates anom  
others, howe  
and because  
(or anomie)
24. Ibid., p.
25. Ibid., p.
26. Ibid., p.  
revision of  
may have bee  
they affect
27. Albert I  
Sociologica
28. Herbert  
of Anomy,"  
and 19 (ita
29. Lewis F.  
Sociology o  
wood Cliffs
30. Ibid.,
31. Ibid.,
32. Ibid.,
33. Georg S  
of Georg Si  
1950).
34. Feuer,
35. Gwynn R  
cal Review,
36. Ibid.,
37. Ibid.,
38. Melvin  
Sociologica  
and John W  
ting," Ame  
782; Melvi  
atory," AM  
284; Arthu  
lessness:

20. Robert M. MacIver, The Ramparts We Guard (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950), pp. 84-92.
21. Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, 21(December, 1956), 710.
22. Ibid., p. 710.
23. Ibid., p. 711. It is evident from this quote that Srole equates anomia with alienation. Because he cites Durkheim and others, however, and because he terms his scale an anomia scale, and because other persons using his scale place it in the anomia (or anomie) tradition, we have chosen to treat his work here.
24. Ibid., p. 712 (*italics supplied*).
25. Ibid., p. 716.
26. Ibid., p. 711. This follows rather closely Merton's 1957 revision of Social Theory and Social Structure. These revisions may have been available to Srole, but one cannot know how much they affected his work.
27. Albert K. Cohen, "The Sociology of the Deviant Act," American Sociological Review, 30(February, 1965), 5(fn.1).
28. Herbert McClosky and John H. Schaar, "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy," American Sociological Review, 30 (February, 1965), 14 and 19 (*italics added*).
29. Lewis Feuer, "What is Alienation? The Career of a Concept," Sociology on Trial, eds. Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963).
30. Ibid., p. 127.
31. Ibid., p. 128.
32. Ibid., p. 129.
33. Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," The Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. Kurt H. Wolff (New York: The Free Press, 1950).
34. Feuer, op. cit., pp. 138, 146.
35. Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 27 (December, 1957), 670-677.
36. Ibid., p. 672.
37. Ibid., p. 674.
38. Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24 (December, 1959), 783-791; Melvin Seeman and John W. Evans, "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting," American Sociological Review, 27 (December, 1962), 772-782; Melvin Seeman, "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," American Journal of Sociology, 59 (November, 1963), 270-284; Arthur G. Neal and Melvin Seeman, "Organizations and Powerlessness: A Test of the Mediation Hypotheses," American

Sociological

Seeman, "Anti-  
3 (May-June,

39. Of the va  
Salomon Rett  
some affilia

40. Seeman,

41. Ibid., p

42. Ibid., p

43. Ibid., p

44. Ibid., p

45. Ibid., p

46. Seeman,

47. Ibid., p

48. Ibid.

49. Rotter's  
pre-existing  
which he see

50. Frederi  
Sociologica

51. Seeman,  
practical e  
would argue  
pats in a  
tion be pow  
to suggest  
antidote.

52. Seeman  
op. cit.

53. Arthur

54. John P  
American S

55. Ibid.,

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Dwigh  
American

59. Ibid.

60. Seema

61. Jan P  
tuals,"

Sociological Review, 29 (April, 1964), 216-226; and Melvin Seeman, "Antidote to Alienation-Learning to Belong," Trans-action, 3 (May-June, 1966), 35-40.

39. Of the various writers about alienation, Arthur Neal, Salomon Rettig, Melvin Seeman, John Clark, Dwight Dean have had some affiliation with Ohio State University.

40. Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," op. cit., p. 783.

41. Ibid., p. 784.

42. Ibid., p. 786.

43. Ibid., p. 788.

44. Ibid., p. 789.

45. Ibid., p. 790.

46. Seeman, "Antidote to Alienation . . .", op. cit., p. 35.

47. Ibid., p. 36.

48. Ibid.

49. Rotter's theory would also seem to assume the existence of a pre-existing goal toward which the individual is oriented, and which he sees as legitimate for him to strive toward.

50. Frederick B. Waisanen, "Stability, Alienation and Change," Sociological Quarterly, 4 (Winter, 1963), 18-32.

51. Seeman, op. cit., p. 35. If movements did have immediate or practical effects, it might be logical to suppose that Seeman would argue that they were not in fact alienated, but participants in a grand and glorious scheme, i.e., they would by definition be powerful, and therefore not alienated. Really, he seems to suggest that alienation can produce its own diagnosis and antidote.

52. Seeman, "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting," op. cit.

53. Arthur G. Neal and Melvin Seeman, op. cit.

54. John P. Clark, "Measuring Alienation Within a Social System," American Sociological Review, 24 (December, 1959), 849-852.

55. Ibid., p. 849.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., p. 850.

58. Dwight Dean, "Meaning and Measurement of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 26 (October, 1961), 753-758.

59. Ibid., p. 755.

60. Seeman, "On the Meaning . . .", op. cit., p. 786.

61. Jan Hajda, "Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals," American Sociological Review, 26 (October, 1961), 758-777.

62. Ibid., p
63. Ibid., p
64. Waisanen
65. Leon Fe  
Row-Peterson
66. Waisanen
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.,
69. Seeman,  
op.cit.; R  
ity (New Y
70. Clowar
71. Srole,
72. Doroth  
Access to  
Review, 2
73. Nettl
74. Clark
75. This  
and are r
76. Clark
77. Hajd
78. Seem
79. Item  
sations  
"Alienat  
six and  
Hospita
80. Se
81. Rus  
Sociolo
82. Ib
83. Th  
op. ci
84. De  
Inter-  
44 (K
85. A  
Manua  
(Aug

62. Ibid., pp. 758-759.
63. Ibid., p. 759.
64. Waisanen, op. cit.
65. Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Evanston: Row-Peterson, 1957).
66. Waisanen, Op. cit., p. 6.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., p. 7.
69. Seeman, "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," op.cit.; R. A. Cloward and L. E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity (New York: The Free Press, 1960).
70. Cloward and Ohlin, Ibid., p. 111.
71. Srole, op. cit., pp. 712-713.
72. Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, 24 (April, 1959), 191.
73. Nettler, op. cit., p. 675.
74. Clark, op. cit., p. 850.
75. This full listing of items was obtained from Dean personally, and are not presented in his article.
76. Clark, op. cit.; Hajda, op. cit.
77. Hajda, op. cit., p. 764.
78. Seeman, "On the Meaning . . .," op. cit.
79. Item number one and two were taken from the article "Organizations and Powerlessness," items three and four from the article "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," and items five, six and seven from the article "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting." All items purportedly measure powerlessness.
80. Seeman, "On the Meaning . . .," op. cit., p. 784
81. Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race and Education," American Sociological Review, 28 (December, 1963), 973-974.
82. Ibid., pp.973-974.
83. This table is a modification of that presented in Middleton, op. cit., p. 975.
84. Dean, op. cit.; Nettler, op. cit.; and J. L. Simmons, "Some Inter-Correlations Among 'Alienation' Measures," Social Forces, 44 (March, 1966), 370-372.
85. Arthur Neal and Salomon Rettig, "Dimensions of Alienation Among Manual and Non-Manual Workers," American Sociological Review, 28 (August, 1963), 599-608.

86. Elmer L.  
Analytic Ex  
ianism Doma  
1965), 768-
87. Desmond  
American S
88. Srole,
89. A. H. P  
Prejudice:  
(January,
90. Edward  
Socio-Econ  
Forces, 39
91. Dean,
92. Simon
93. Morri  
Press, 19
94. Robert  
Areas," A
95. Clark  
Unpublis  
State Un
96. Albe  
Forces,
97. Melv  
Anomie  
of Socio
98. John  
and Ethn  
1962),
99. Edw  
Alienat  
Sociolo
100. Le  
Personne
101. Ne
102. Ha
103. Se
104. T  
Srole,  
Harold  
Univer  
Social

86. Elmer L. Struening and Arthur H. Richardson, "A Factor Analytic Exploration of the Alienation, Anomia and Authoritarianism Domain," American Sociological Review, 30 (October, 1965), 768-775.
87. Desmond S. Cartwright, "A Misapplication of Factor Analysis," American Sociological Review, 30 (April, 1965), 249-252.
88. Srole, op. cit.
89. A. H. Roberts and M. Rokeach, "Anomie, Authoritarianism, and Prejudice: A Replication," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (January, 1956), 355-358.
90. Edward L. McDill, "Anomie, Authoritarianism, Prejudice and Socio-Economic Status: An Attempt at Clarification," Social Forces, 39 (March, 1961), 239-245.
91. Dean, op. cit.
92. Simmons, op. cit.
93. Morris Rosenberg, Occupations and Values (New York: The Free Press, 1957).
94. Robert C. Angell, "Preferences for Moral Norms in Three Areas," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (May, 1962), 650-660.
95. Clark McPhail, "Dogmatism, Religiosity and Alienation," Unpublished research report, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, 1962.
96. Albert L. Rhodes, "Anomia, Aspiration and Status," Social Forces, 42 (May, 1964), 434-440.
97. Melvin M. Tumin and Roy C. Collins, "Status Mobility and Anomie: A Study in Readiness for Desegregation," British Journal of Sociology, 10 (1959), 253-267.
98. John D. Photiadis and Jeanne Biggar, "Religiosity, Education, and Ethnic Distance," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (May, 1962), 666-672.
99. Edward McDill and J. C. Ridley, "Status, Anomia, Political Alienation and Political Participation," American Journal of Sociology, 68 (September, 1962), 205-213.
100. Leonard I. Pearlin, "Alienation from Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," American Sociological Review, 27 (June, 1962), 314-326.
101. Nettler, op. cit.
102. Hajda, op. cit.
103. Seeman, op. cit.
104. These studies are summarized in Clinard, op. cit.; they are: Srole, op. cit.; Roberts and Rokeach, op. cit.; Arthur Kornhauser, Harold L. Sheppard and Albert J. Mayer, When Labor Votes (New York: University Publishers, 1956), pp. 189-200; Wendell Bell, "Anomie, Social Isolation, and the Class Structure," Sociometry, 20 (June,



1957), 10.  
 Anomie: A  
 1958), 23.  
 op. cit.;  
 Small Cit.  
 645-654;  
 Charles M.  
 of Sociol.  
 H. Max Wi  
 (Winter,  
 A Study o  
 Rhodes, o  
 105. Nett  
 op. cit.  
 106. Meie  
 107. McDi  
 108. Durk  
 109. Seym  
 Industria  
 1960), pp  
 110. A. I  
 Illness,  
 577-584.  
 111. Jos  
 and Prej  
 and Powe  
 The Free  
 112. Pet  
 American  
 Curtis,  
 Associa  
 845-848  
 Members  
 (Octobe  
 113. Li  
 114. I  
 115. I  
 116. M.  
 117. E  
 Interr  
 151-16  
 Americ

1957), 105-116; David J. Bordua, "Juvenile Delinquency and Anomie: An Attempt at Replication," Social Problems, 6 (Winter, 1958), 230-238; Meier and Bell, op. cit.; Tumin and Collins, op. cit.; E. H. Mizruchi, "Social Structure and Anomia in a Small City," American Sociological Review, 25 (October, 1960), 645-654; Dean, op. cit.; McDill, op. cit.; Lewis M. Killian and Charles M. Grigg, "Urbanism, Race, and Anomia," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (May, 1962), 661-665; Richard L. Simpson and H. Max Miller, "Social Status and Anomia," Social Problems, 10 (Winter, 1963), 256-264; E. H. Mizruchi, Success and Opportunity: A Study of Anomia (New York: The Free Press, 1964); Albert L. Rhodes, op. cit.

105. Nettler, op. cit.; Meier and Bell, op. cit.; and McDill, op. cit.

106. Meier and Bell, op. cit., pp. 191-192.

107. McDill, op. cit., p. 244.

108. Durkheim, op. cit., p. 252.

109. Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 64-65.

110. A. B. Hollingshead, et al., "Social Mobility and Mental Illness," American Sociological Review, 19 (October, 1954), 577-584.

111. Joseph Greenblum and Leonard I. Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice: A Socio-Psychological Analysis," Class, Status, and Power, eds. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset (New York: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 480-491.

112. Peter Blau, "Social Mobility and Interpersonal Relations," American Sociological Review, 21 (June, 1956), 290-295; Richard Curtis, "Occupational Mobility and Membership in Formal Voluntary Association," American Sociological Review, 24 (August, 1959), 846-848; and Richard Curtis, "Occupational Mobility and Union Membership in Detroit: A Replication," Social Forces, 38 (October, 1959), 69-71.

113. Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., p. 69.

114. Ibid., pp. 67-68.

115. Ibid., p. 253.

116. Meier and Bell, op. cit.

117. Emile Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types, and Status Interrelations," American Sociological Review, 9 (April, 1944), 151-161; Everett Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," American Journal of Sociology, 50 (March, 1945), 353-357.

118. A. B.  
Mental Illn  
and Paul S.  
Haven: Yale  
"The Warner  
and Power,

119. Gerha  
Dimension  
(August, 1

120. Edward  
Consistenc

121. Waiss

122. Lens

123. Irwin  
Change in  
22 (June,

124. Jame  
Dissonanc  
Michigan

125. B. :  
Iran," P

126. Elt  
American

127. Ger  
lization  
464.

128. Ge

129. Al  
cance,  
analysis  
is .16.

130. Me

131. I

132. L

133. W  
Consci  
219-22

134. X

118. A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness (New York: John Wiley, 1958); and W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Status System of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942). Also see Ruth Kornhauser, "The Warner Approach to Social Stratification," Class, Status and Power, eds. Bendix and Lipset, op. cit., pp. 224-254.
119. Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, 19 (August, 1954), 405-513.
120. Edward E. Sampson, "Status Congruency and Cognitive Consistency," Sociometry, 26 (June, 1963), 146-162.
121. Waisanen, op. cit.
122. Lenski, op. cit.
123. Irwin W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," American Sociological Review, 22 (June, 1957), 275-281.
124. James A. Geschwender, "Status Inconsistency, Cognitive Dissonance and Social Change," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1962.
125. B. B. Ringer and P. L. Sills, "Political Extremists in Iran," Public Opinion Quarterly, 16 (Winter, 1952-53), 689-701.
126. Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, 27 (August, 1962), 469-480.
127. Gerhard E. Lenski, "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," American Sociological Review, 21 (August, 1956), 458-464.
128. Geschwender, op. cit.
129. Although this finding has not yet been tested for significance, the probability that the three consistency groups in the analysis would distribute in the observed manner by chance alone is .16.
130. Meier and Bell, op. cit.
131. Ibid.
132. Lenski, 1954 and 1956, op. cit.
133. Werner S. Landecker, "Class Crystallization and Class Consciousness," American Sociological Review, 28 (April, 1963), 219-229.
134. McDill, op. cit., and Meier and Bell, op. cit.

In this  
alize the  
ees in th  
status, st  
its sub-di  
isolation  
future.  
shall the  
the sampl  
tion of

Avera  
comple  
Average  
sional  
a perso  
status  
differ  
is tak  
avera

## CHAPTER II

### OPERATIONALIZATION OF MAJOR CONCEPTS

#### Introduction

In this chapter, the primary purpose shall be to operationalize the major concepts presented in our theoretical hypotheses in the previous chapter. These concepts are: average status, status inconsistency, social mobility, alienation and its sub-dimensions of powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation, present satisfaction with life, and outlook for the future. After operationalization of these major concepts, we shall then attend to the context and design of the study itself, the sample, analysis procedures, and conclude with a presentation of our hypotheses in operational form.

#### Average Status and Status Inconsistency

Average status and status inconsistency are to some degree complementary aspects of the same concept, when operationalized. Average status usually assumes a general, underlying unidimensional status continuum, that may be indexed by the 'average' of a person's standing on several different component measures of status. Sometimes a simple average of positions on several different components is taken; and other times a weighted average is taken. In any case, the operationalization of status-as-an-average also raises the possibility of variance in the status

set, i.e.,

mean for all

or effect of

then it is

separate as

general arg

fication th

Lenski, an

average st

In deve

the select

average s

Lenski (a

ethnicity

procedure

status co

status (

occupati

engages

tional

has fre

tive ha

not hav

almost

to whi

Fol

set, i.e., the variance of each component position around the mean for all components. If each component has any validity or effect on behavior independently of this created average, then it is possible that the variance itself constitutes a separate aspect of stratification. Or, at least, this is the general argument advanced by this thesis, and by other stratification theorists.<sup>1</sup> Generally, we shall endeavor to follow Lenski, and his development of status inconsistency and average status.

In developing these two concepts, we must first attend to the selection of the component dimensions which make up both average status and status inconsistency. We shall follow Lenski (and others) and use occupation, education, income and ethnicity or ethnic background. We might note here that this procedure indirectly assumes that the family is the basis of status conferral. A wife, for instance, will have her average status (and status inconsistency) based upon her husband's occupation—unless she also has an occupation in which she engages full-time—the family's total income, her own educational level, and her own ethnic background. This assumption has frequently been criticized, but the only available alternative has been to remove from analysis all those females who do not have full-time employment.<sup>2</sup> This, of course, would amount to almost half of the study sample, as well as half the population to which we would like to generalize.

Following the selection of each dimension, a method of stand-



ardizing

so that

will be

each dir

each dir

arrive

Stat

follow

cedure

mizing

the sq

an "a

then

incon

ency

logic

of e

be s

Occu

I

tio

of

Wae

ut.

th

pa

ardizing a person's rank on each dimension must be arrived at, so that a true average may be computed. This standardization will be done by developing a cumulative percentile range for each dimension, and assigning the person a percentile rank on each dimension. These percentile ranks may be then averaged to arrive at an 'average status'.

Status inconsistency will be computed according to the following formula:  $SI = \sqrt{\sum (X_{i.j.} - \bar{X}_{ij})^2} \cdot 3$  This procedure has the effect of minimizing small deviations, and maximizing large deviations, when the 'X' is squared; then taking the square root of the resultant sum has the effect of creating an "average variance" present in the status set (low scores would then indicate low status inconsistency and high scores, high inconsistency). Both the average status and status inconsistency formulas create a possible range from 0-100; due to the logical impossibility of grouped data having a percentile rank of either 0% or 100%, however, the empirical range is likely to be somewhat different.

### Occupation

Following our notion of the family as the basic stratification unit, each person was asked for the occupation of the head of the household in which he lived and for his own occupation. Where possible, the occupation of the head of the household was utilized as the primary determinant of occupational status. In those cases where a person was retired, and had no current occupation, the prior-to-retirement occupation was used. Again,

this invo

upon the

of his li

Each o

Census, C

assigned

of presti

prestige

Our opera

categoric

the occup

distribu

Prest.

occupati

difficul

---

Pre

---

i.e., pr

larger

by usin

income

this involves the assumption that a person's status depends upon the occupation he followed (usually) for the majority of his life.

Each occupation was then coded according to the 1960 U. S. Census, Occupational Classification. Each occupation was also assigned the prestige score derived in the Duncan-Hatt analysis of prestige of occupations.<sup>4</sup> In the Duncan-Hatt study, these prestige scores were then further transformed into deciles. Our operationalization assigns the mid-point of the decile categories as the percentile score (Figure 1). In summary, then, the occupational component score is the percentile standing on a distribution of occupational prestige.

Prestige percentiles were used rather than percentages of occupational classifications per se, because of the general difficulty in imputing status to these general classifications,

Figure 1: Derivation of Occupational Scores

Prestige Score Range	Percentile Score
0 - 42	05
43 - 52	15
53	25
54 - 57	35
58 - 59	45
60 - 64	55
65 - 67	65
68 - 70	75
71 - 75	85
76 - 99	95

i.e., professional, technical, etc. In addition, it allows us a larger amount of variability of occupational statuses. Finally, by using a prestige score which is predicted from education and income (or correlated with it), we are using a score for occupa-

tion which  
income, a  
tive in t  
This will  
discrepa  
show up.

Educational

Each  
she had  
and ran  
used, w

Ed

None o  
5-7 yrs  
8 yrs  
9-11 y  
H.S. G  
Techn  
bu  
1-3 y  
Colle

\* Per

Inco

I

stat

elic

Thi

uni

tion which is very likely to be consistent with education and income, at least. That is, our test will be somewhat conservative in that we have built in a factor making for consistency. This will have the effect of allowing only gross and clear-cut discrepancies between occupation, and education and income, to show up.

### Education

Each respondent was also asked how many years of school he or she had completed. Then, in order to obtain percentile ranges and ranks, the sample percentages in various categories were used, which produced the following range:

Figure 2: Derivation of Education Scores

Educational Level	Percent in Sample	Cumulative Percentile Range	Midpoint PRS*
None or 1-4 yrs	5.0	0 - 5.0	02
5-7 yrs	10.3	5.1 - 15.3	10
8 yrs	19.8	15.4 - 35.1	25
9-11 yrs	16.1	35.2 - 51.2	43
H.S. graduate	26.4	51.3 - 77.6	64
Technical, trade or business school	4.0	77.7 - 81.6	79
1-3 yrs college	9.6	81.7 - 91.2	86
College graduate or more	8.7	91.3 - 99.9	95

\* Percentile Rank Score.

### Income

In order to compute income percentile rank scores, the sample statistics were again used. The question in the schedule used to elicit this information asked the family's total income last year. This was done in line with our assumptions about the familial unit as the status conferral unit. The following percentile

rank 8

In

\$ 0 -

1,000 -

1,500 -

2,000 -

2,500 -

3,000 -

4,000 -

5,000 -

7,000 -

10,000 -

15,0

\* Perce

Ethnici

Ethn

struct.

ure for

ethnici

This ra

social

was him

of the

there w

would b

was tak

ethnic

rank scores were developed:

Figure 3: Derivation of Income Scores

Income	Percent in Sample	Cumulative Percentile Range	Midpoint PRS*
\$ 0 - 999	4.6	0 - 4.6	02
1,000 - 1,499	3.6	4.7 - 8.2	06
1,500 - 1,999	4.0	8.3 - 12.2	10
2,000 - 2,499	5.7	12.3 - 17.9	15
2,500 - 2,999	4.2	18.0 - 22.1	20
3,000 - 3,999	8.7	22.2 - 30.8	26
4,000 - 4,999	11.4	30.9 - 42.2	36
5,000 - 6,999	22.3	42.3 - 64.5	53
7,000 - 9,999	17.7	64.6 - 82.2	73
10,000 - 14,999	10.0	82.3 - 92.2	87
15,000 +	3.6	92.3 - 95.8	94

\* Percentile Rank Score.

### Ethnicity

Ethnicity was the most difficult dimension of all to construct. Generally, we followed Lenski's and Jackson's procedure for developing this dimension.<sup>5</sup> Four ranked levels of ethnicity were posited as follows:

- |      |     |  |
|------|-----|--|
| High | (a) | Old American, Canadian, or English   |
|      | (b) | Northwest European descent   |
|      | (c) | Southeast European descent   |
| Low  | (d) | Negro, Asian, Jewish, or Spanish-speaking<br>(usually Mexican or Puerto Rican) |

This ranking procedure follows closely Bogardus' scale of social distances from various ethnic groups.<sup>6</sup> If a respondent was himself, or if his parents or grandparents were, born in any of the above countries, the respondent was thusly classified. If there were parents or grandparents born in classifications which would have put them in different levels, the paternal lineage was taken first on the assumption that ethnic identity plus ethnic surnames follow the paternal lineage more so than the



maternal l.

did not kno

was assume

After c

and cumula

percentile

Group

Lo

Pegro, As

S.E.Euro

N.W.Euro

Old Amer

Hi

Average St

With th

status inc

of these s

more were

ponent was

no score v

sufficient

sistency.

average s

of averag

various P

(a) R

maternal lineage. If the respondent could not remember, or did not know, where his parents or grandparents were born, it was assumed that he was an "Old American".

After classifications were made for the sample, percentages and cumulative percentile ranges were obtained, from which percentile rank scores were assigned as follows:

### Figure 4: Derivation of Ethnicity Scores

Group	Percent	Cumulative Percentile Range	Percentile Rank
Lo			
Negro, Asian, etc.	19.0	0 - 19.0	09
S.E. European	9.4	19.1 - 28.4	24
N.W. European	23.0	28.5 - 51.4	41
Old American	47.7	51.5 - 99.1	76
Hi			

### Average Status—Status Inconsistency

With these scores, then, each person's average status and status inconsistency were computed. If a person had any three of these scores, a computation was made; if, however, two or more were incomplete (i.e., if no information about that component was available), a computation was not made, and thus no score was obtained. Of 1,528 respondents, only 6 lacked sufficient information to compute average status or status inconsistency. The empirical distributions ranged from 4-90 for average status, and from 1-90 for status inconsistency. Examples of average status and status inconsistency which will illustrate various points along these ranges are as follows:

(a) Negro M.D., making \$10,000 a year	Average Status	71
	Status Inconsistency	73

(b) Jew

(c) Negro  
ma

(d) Old  
tr

The di

thus deve

approxima

relations

multi-var

further c

and three

(see p. 8

Follow

use inter

mobility.

simple me

social mo

take the

occupatio

her fathe

occupatio

collar di

measure,

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| (b) Jewish college professor making \$8,000 a year  |                         |
|   | Average Status 68       |
|   | Status Inconsistency 70 |
| (c) Negro insurance salesman, 7th grade education   |                         |
| making \$15,000 a year                              | Average Status 52       |
|   | Status Inconsistency 85 |
| (d) Old American medical technician, with technical |                         |
| training, making \$7,200 a year                     | Average Status 76       |
|   | Status Inconsistency 4  |

The distributions of average status and status inconsistency thus developed were then categorized into ten categories of approximately ten percent each for the initial analysis of the relationship of each variable to alienation, etc. In the multi-variate stage of our analysis these ten categories were further collapsed into five for the average status variable, and three for the status inconsistency variable. Table 1 (see p. 83) presents the limits of these categories.

### Social Mobility

Following our suggestions of the previous chapter, we shall use inter-generational mobility, rather than intra-generational mobility. And more specifically, we shall use a relatively simple measure of occupational mobility as our indicator of social mobility. In measuring occupational mobility, we shall take the difference between father's occupation and son's occupation; for females, we shall take the difference between her father's occupation and her husband's. In classifying occupation, we shall use a simple blue-collar versus white-collar dichotomy. We realize that this is a relatively simple measure, but there are several reasons for doing so. First,

Table

Score

4 -  
27 -  
35 -  
43 -  
49 -  
54 -  
60 -  
66 -  
71 -  
77 -

Total

Score

10 -  
17 -  
24 -  
29 -  
33 -  
38 -  
42 -  
46 -  
52 -  
58 -

Total

there

intra-

of job

it is

band's

(or at

This a

Table 1: Distributions and Collapse Limits for Categorization of Average Status and Status Inconsistency

Score Range	AVERAGE STATUS			
	Ten Category Limits		Five Category Limits	
	N	%	N	%
4 - 26	147	9.7	291	19.2
27 - 34	144	9.5		
35 - 42	146	9.6	309	20.3
43 - 48	163	10.7		
49 - 53	149	9.8	316	20.7
54 - 59	167	10.9		
60 - 65	175	11.4	334	21.9
66 - 70	159	10.5		
71 - 76	137	9.0	272	17.9
77 - 90	135	8.9		
Totals	1,522	100.0	1,522	100.0
-----				
Score Range	STATUS INCONSISTENCY			
	Ten Category Limits		Five Category Limits	
	N	%	N	%
10 - 16	149	9.8		
17 - 23	157	10.3	439	28.8
24 - 28	133	8.7		
29 - 32	154	10.1		
33 - 37	148	9.7		
38 - 41	158	10.4	598	39.3
42 - 45	138	9.1		
46 - 51	173	11.4		
52 - 57	164	10.8	485	31.9
58 - 90	148	9.7		
Totals	1,522	100.0	1,522	100.0

there were the general demands of interview time, and to obtain intra-generational mobility requires that one plot a progression of jobs for each respondent—a time-consuming endeavor. Second, it is not likely that a wife will always be aware of her husband's first job, although she may be aware of her father's job (or at least the job he held during the prime years of his life). This allows us to utilize more data with more generalizability.

And, f

of the

in tim

Ope

engage

sional

(3) cl

be clas

line w

inter-

a blue-

blue-c

a white

white-c

as stat

the res

classif

the res

Use

our sam

mobile

Introdu

In o

the Dea

scales

initial

And, finally, intra-generational mobility creates problems of the different prestige levels of jobs at different points in time.

Operationally, we shall define white-collar workers as those engaged in the census occupational categories of: (1) professional, technical and kindred; (2) managers and proprietors; (3) clerical workers; and (4) sales workers. All others will be classified as blue-collar workers. This is generally in line with most other studies of blue-collar to white-collar inter-generational mobility.<sup>7</sup> If the head of a household has a blue-collar occupation, and the respondent's father held a blue-collar occupation, or if the head of the household holds a white-collar occupation, and the respondent's father held a white-collar occupation, then the respondent will be classified as stable, i.e., non-mobile. If the father was blue-collar, and the respondent is white-collar, then the respondent will be classified as upwardly mobile; if the reverse is true, then the respondent will be classified as downwardly mobile.

Use of this schema produced the following percentages in our sample: Downwardly mobile 8.65%, Stable 68%, and Upwardly mobile 23.3%.

#### Alienation

##### Introduction

In operationalizing alienation, a decision was made to use the Dean scales, with their division into sub-scales. These scales were selected because of their generality, and their initial separation into sub-scales. Because of the cross-cul-



tural  
felt t  
of the  
Nettle  
desira  
possib  
the De.  
The  
series  
uniding  
was no  
therefo  
would s  
dimensi  
analyse  
a stude  
of the  
sample  
Student  
The  
100 stu  
more-le  
gradua  
adults  
somewha  
sample

tural approach, as well as the use of national sample, it was felt that a general scale would be more advantageous than any of the more specific scales available at that time, e.g., Nettler's, etc.<sup>8</sup> Also, following our conclusion regarding the desirability of attempting to separate alienation into as many possible components as possible in any study, we must note that the Dean scale is the only scale which attempts this separation.

The Dean scales were not simply adopted in toto; rather a series of Guttman scaling analyses were performed to insure the unidimensionality of each sub-scale. We must note that this was not done in the original Dean analysis, and that there was therefore no assurance of unidimensionality. This analysis would also provide us a test of the separability of the various dimensions of alienation. All in all, three separate scaling analyses were performed, with three separate populations: first, a student sample from Michigan State University; second, samples of the adult population of Lansing, Michigan; and last, the sub-sample of a random national sample used in the actual study.

#### Student Sample

The student sample was performed in the summer of 1962, using 100 students drawn from social psychology classes. These sophomore-level classes were open to juniors and seniors, as well as graduate students; in addition, summer school attracts more adults than otherwise is the case. Therefore, the sample is somewhat more heterogeneous than the usual introductory class sample of freshmen. These students were administered the full

Dean scale

strongly a

strongly d

Waisanen t

Figure

Powerlessn

1. There

a man

2. We ar

3. The f

4. There

a man

5. There

that

6. It is

of a

7. Somet

me.

8. We're

choic

Normlessne

1. I oft

2. Peopl

ever

3. Every

rules

4. With

know

5. I wor

6. The e

7. The o

sure

Social Iso

1. Somet

2. Real

3. Peopl

4. There

5. I don

reall

6. Most

7. One c

8. The w

First,

together,

Dean scales, with five possible response categories (Figure 5): strongly agree, slightly agree, don't know, slightly disagree, strongly disagree. The Guttman analysis used was the modified Waisanen technique.<sup>9</sup>

Figure 5: Dean's Items Used in Operationalizing Alienation

---

**Powerlessness:**

1. There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing a major 'shooting war'.
2. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.
3. The future looks very dismal.
4. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.
5. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just blow up.
6. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.
7. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.
8. We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.

**Normlessness:**

1. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.
2. Peoples' ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.
3. Everything is relative and there just aren't any definite rules to this life.
4. With so many religious beliefs today one doesn't really know which to believe.
5. I worry about the future facing today's children.
6. The end often justifies the means.
7. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.

**Social Isolation:**

1. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.
  2. Real friends are as easy as ever to find.
  3. People are just naturally friendly and helpful.
  4. There are few dependable ties between people anymore.
  5. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.
  6. Most people today seldom feel lonely.
  7. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.
  8. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.
- 

First, an attempt was made to scale all of the alienation items together, to see if, in fact, a common scale should be developed.

This  
of r  
could  
C.R.  
that  
of v  
be e  
have  
than  
W  
tely  
rela  
drop  
the  
?  
whic  
Fig  
see  
i.e  
and  
reg  
cle  
sca  
the  
?  
iter  
This

This was not possible; neither a sufficiently high coefficient of reproducibility, nor an even distribution of scale types, could be achieved. Even with the removal of several items, the C.R. was not increased appreciably. Therefore, it was assumed that no general dimension of alienation existed. No combination of various sub-scales was attempted at this time. And, as will be evident from our last scaling analysis, perhaps this should have been done. However, hindsight is always so much better than foresight.

When each sub-scale was submitted to scaling analysis separately, however, appreciable C.R.'s were obtained, as well as a relatively even distribution of scale types. Several items were dropped so as to require an inspection of content to assure that the basic meaning of the scale had not changed.

The powerlessness sub-scale achieved a C.R. of .928. Items which did not scale, and were dropped, were items 1 and 3 (see Figure 5). Removal of item 1 regarding a 'shooting war' would seem to remove a more or less "political" item from the scale, i.e., an item referring to a political or international context, and thus leave the total scale a more general one. Item 3, regarding the dismal future, would seem to remove the only clearly future referent in the scale, perhaps typing the entire scale as one more oriented to the "here and now" definition of the situation.

The normlessness sub-scale achieved a C.R. of .94, with items 5, 6, and 7 being dropped in order to meet scale criteria. This would seem to leave the total scale with a clear referent

to the "un-  
expectancy  
normlessne  
the refer  
Seeman se  
is perhaps  
referring  
respect to  
ure to sca  
The so  
items 5, 6  
Inspection  
to the res  
remaining  
scale.

Adult Sam

The it  
were then  
adult (ma  
East Lans  
technical  
all over  
from Mexi  
Japan. G  
which wor  
In additi

to the "unpredictability of life". Item 6, which refers to an expectancy of using illegitimate means—or the Seeman variant of normlessness—is removed, which would seem to clarify or specify the referent of the total scale as "meaninglessness" in the Seeman sense. Item 5 refers to a dismal future for children, and is perhaps more characteristic of powerlessness, because the item referring to children in the powerlessness scale remained. With respect to item 7, few "face" reasons can be seen for its failure to scale.

The social isolation sub-scale achieved a C.R. of .93, with items 5, 6, 7 and 8 dropped in order to meet scale criteria. Inspection of the content of the dropped items, in comparison to the remaining items, reveals little if any differences. The remaining items do, however, form a statistically unidimensional scale.

#### Adult Sample

The items which were scalable in the M.S.U. student sample were then tested on the following samples: (1) a sample of adult (male and female) heads of households in the Lansing and East Lansing, Michigan area; (2) a sample of persons in a technical training school in San Antonio, Texas, who were from all over South America and Central America, with the majority from Mexico<sup>10</sup>; and (3) a sample of adult heads of households in Japan. Guttman scaling was carried out in an attempt to find items which would meet scale criteria in all three of these samples. In addition, as many items as possible were out out in an effort



to r

Even

give

T

and

anal.

or no

perf

pende

with

point

have

respo

cultu

type)

cult

That

with

non-r

analy

place

that

i.e.,

popula

By

check

to reduce the amount of interview time devoted to this section. Eventually, two items were selected from each scale which would give maximum representation of the entire scale.

This attempt at cross-cultural scaling raised many interesting and perplexing problems in the methodology and theory of scale analysis. Generally, the most perplexing problem was whether or not to lump respondents from all samples together, or to perform a scale analysis for each sample separately and independently. The decision was made to scale each sample separately, with an attempt to use common items, item order and cutting points. If we had lumped all samples together, there would have been a serious possibility of non-random distribution of respondents in the scale analysis (i.e., respondents from one cultural sample might have clustered around a certain scale type). And, had this occurred, it would have been very difficult to get any amount of variation within any one sample. That is, there was the possibility that an item would be agreed with by all Japanese, and disagreed with by all Americans. This non-random distribution would not have shown up in the scaling analysis per se. Its consequences though, would have been to place every respondent in the same category for responses to that question when an analysis of that sample alone occurred, i.e., an item would not differentiate within the Japanese population.

By pursuing an independent analysis for each sample, we would check not only the C.R., but discriminability and distribution of

scale type  
best set c  
the maximum  
samples).  
the English  
modification  
comparabil  
final scal  
Items  
with a C.B.  
for the Ja  
In order  
job and wo  
fied to r  
unless a  
seem to a  
two item  
two items  
ence. It  
personal  
to the in  
Items  
with a pe  
of repro  
Spanish s  
referent  
and predi

scale types within each sample, and between samples, until the best set of items were found (i.e., items which would produce the maximum discriminability and distribution in all three samples). Another problem which arose was the translation of the English items into Japanese and Spanish. This required modification of some items, in order to obtain maximum "meaning" comparability. Where modified items were inserted into the final scale, it will be noted.

Items retained for the powerlessness sub-scale were 4 and 5, with a C.R. of .95 for the American sample. (The coefficient for the Japanese sample was .93 and .97 for the Spanish sample.) In order to make item 4 applicable to persons without extensive job and work experience, and in order to translate, it was modified to read: "There is little chance to get ahead in this life unless a man knows the right people." This modification did not seem to affect the content or the scalability of the remaining two item scale. An inspection of the content of these remaining two items, compared to the items out out, reveals little difference. Item 4 contains a general referent, and item 7 contains a personal referent. All in all, the content would seem to refer to the inability to exert control over things that happen in life.

Items retained for the normlessness scale were 1 and 2; again with a personal referent and a general referent. The coefficient of reproducibility was .93 for the American sample, .95 for the Spanish sample, and .88 for the Japanese sample. Again, the referent of the total scale would seem to be the lack of order and predictability in life. With the cancellation of item 4,

referring

two items

previousl

Items

2, with a

Spanish s

items hav

to be dro

Japanese.

seen to a

"I feel a

actual so

These

ule, and

Sub-Sampl

When t

the inter

tenth int

Guttman a

item orde

previous

dation an

effort at

coefficient

"improven

For t

referring to the multitude of religious beliefs, the remaining two items would seem to have a more general referent than previously.

Items retained for the social isolation sub-scale were 1 and 2, with a C.R. of .97 for the American sample, .94 for the Spanish sample, and .77 for the Japanese sample.<sup>11</sup> Again, the items have one general and one personal referent. Item 4 had to be dropped due to translation problems, both in Spanish and Japanese. The content of the remaining two item scale would seem to apply both to a sense of loneliness and isolation—"I feel all alone in the world"—as well as to a feeling of actual social contact with persons.

These items were included in the final version of the schedule, and were administered to national samples of five nations.

#### Sub-Sample of Achieved Sample

When the sample of 1,528 respondents had been completed, and the interviews returned, a sub-sample of 150 was drawn (every tenth interview, with a random starting point), and a third Guttman analysis was performed. This last analysis used the same item orders and cutting points as had been arrived at in the previous analysis; thus this last analysis formed more of a validation and check on our previous analyses than an independent effort at scale construction. In this third analysis, not only coefficients of reproducibility were figured, but also the "improvement over chance."<sup>12</sup>

For the normlessness scale, the C.R. = .912, and the I.O.C.=

.81; for

and for

I.O.C. =

sub-scale

are an a

tion. W

which car

In ad

attempt v

of items

three su

relative

and norm

a C.R. o

purposes

final an

scale, a

possible

and 0 re

scaling

of the s

In re

and McD

measuri

develop

.81; for the powerlessness sub-scale, C.R. = .90 and I.O.C. = .78; and for the social isolation sub-scale, C.R. = .90 and the I.O.C. = .71. We would assume from these values that the three sub-scales do have some validity and unidimensionality, and thus are an adequate specification and operationalization of alienation. With two items, each scale develops three scale types, which can be labeled High, Medium and Low powerlessness, etc.

In addition to the above scaling checks, a final heuristic attempt was made to derive a general alienation scale, composed of items from all three sub-scales. The attempt, using all three sub-scales, again failed, as C.R.'s and I.O.C.'s were relatively low. However, a combination of the powerlessness and normlessness sub-scales did meet scaling criteria, with a C.R. of .91, and an I.O.C. of .66. Therefore, for heuristic purposes, if nothing else, this scale was included in our final analysis. It is termed the powerlessness-normlessness scale, and being composed of four dichotomized items has five possible values, from 0-4, with 4 representing high alienation, and 0 representing low alienation. We also take this latter scaling effort as some evidence of the empirical separability of the social isolation component.

#### Life Satisfaction and Future Outlook

In response to the suggestions of Meier and Bell, Nettler and McDill regarding the Srole scale (and possibly alienation) measuring 'despair' rather than alienation, we thought to develop a more or less independent and general measure of



despa  
alien  
develo  
of op  
A  
Self-A  
of it.  
descri  
imagin  
the re  
the be  
if run  
respon  
where  
where  
he wil  
descri  
these  
his li  
what t  
equati  
common  
Our  
respon  
think  
possib  
himself.

despair or dissatisfaction with one's life.<sup>13</sup> Further, because alienation sometimes has a future connotation, we thought to develop some measure of one's outlook for the future, in terms of optimism or pessimism.

A general technique for this sort of measure is the Cantril Self-Anchoring satisfaction scale—or at least a modification of it.<sup>14</sup> Briefly, this technique asks the respondent to describe, in detail, the best possible life that he could imagine; and then the worst possible life imaginable. Then, the respondent is asked to consider what he has described as the best possible life as standing at the 'top' of a ladder with 11 rungs (0-10), and the worst possible life at the bottom. The respondent is then shown a picture of such a ladder and asked where he would place himself on the ladder as of right now; where he thinks he stood five years ago, and where he thinks he will stand five years from now. By having the respondent describe the polar ends of the scale, Cantril would suggest that these ends are then 'anchored' in the respondents definition of his life. In a sense, Cantril is taking many diverse views of what the best and worst possible life constitutes, and is then equating them by letting them form the extreme ends of a common continuum—the ladder.

Our modification of this general technique was to ask the respondent to 'imagine' the best possible life that he could think of as standing at the top of the ladder, and the worst possible life he could imagine at the bottom, and then to place himself on the ladder as of right now, etc. Our primary modi-

fication,

best and

them to

The r

was uti

to obta

respond

his im

the pr

lower

and, i

define

Ope

presen

order

This

colla

9

12

In

and a

was a p

of 0.

Thes

fication, then, consisted of asking the persons to imagine the best and worst possible lives, rather than actually describing them to the interviewer in detail.

The respondent's actual placement of himself on the ladder was utilized as the score for 'present life standing'. In order to obtain some indication of his outlook for the future, the respondent's present standing on the ladder was compared with his imagined future standing; if the future was higher than the present, he was termed "optimistic"; if the future was lower than the present, then he was defined as "pessimistic"; and, if the future was about the same as the present, he was defined as "neutral".

Operationally, we subtracted the respondent's score for present standing from his score for future standing, and, in order to remove any negative numbers, added a constant of 10. This then produced a possible range of 0-20. Then the following collapse limits were observed:

- 0 - 8 Pessimistic, with the future standing two or more steps below the present.
- 9 -11 Neutral, with the future within one step, above or below the present.
- 12 -20 Optimistic, with the future two or more steps above the present.

In this fashion, a person with a present standing of ten, and a future standing of ten, was classified as "neutral", as was a person with a present standing of 0, and a future standing of 0.

#### Study Context

These operationalizations were carried out as a part of the

Five Nati

cross-cul

and syste

was a sur

samples o

Costa Ric

the Unit

study in

modifica

Using

necessar

schedul

tions w

up scal

The inc

time sc

etc., w

The

in that

And, in

necessar

and refe

were sac

requirer

Anoth

undertak

required

Five Nations Project at Michigan State University—a much larger cross-cultural study of alienation, attitudes toward change, and systemic linkage. The primary method of data collection was a survey-type, one-hour interview administered to random samples of five different nations—United States, Mexico, Costa Rica, Japan and Finland. For this problem, however, only the United States data were used.<sup>15</sup> The inclusion of a small study in such a large undertaking made numerous concessions and modifications necessary for the sake of the project as a whole.

Using a survey approach, for example, meant that all of the necessary questions had to be fitted into a one-hour interview schedule. This required the sacrifice of many items and questions which otherwise would have been beneficial. Items making up scales and other indexes were kept to an absolute minimum. The inclusion of the Japanese sample set the upper limit for the time schedule—due to the necessity of many status formalities, etc., which were required in Japanese interviewing procedures.

The cross-cultural approach also presented its difficulties in that questions had to have cross-cultural applicability. And, in order to obtain this comparability, it was frequently necessary to resort to a relatively general level of meaning and reference. In the case of attitude scales, many items were sacrificed before finding those which satisfied scale requirements, cross-culturally.

Another requirement made necessary by the very size of the undertaking was the use of computer facilities. This, in turn, required relatively structured questions, etc., for ease in

coding,

compute

In a

by the

The int

the Gal

by thei

was als

the Fiv

the Fiv

The

Gallup

of 1,52

report

T

dow

se

A

of

wit

of

san

bas

lat

wer

New

ure

dra

A

ran

san

abo

con

cer

duc

the

coding, and working out procedures which would be feasible for computer application.

In any case, the final interview schedules were worked out by the Five Nations Staff, of which the author was a part.<sup>16</sup> The interviews in the United States were contracted out to the Gallup Organization of Princeton, New Jersey, and were done by their staff between September 2 and October 6, 1963. Coding was also done by the Gallup staff, from codes constructed by the Five Nations Staff. The analysis, however, was left up to the Five Nations Staff.

### Sample

The sample—as well as the interview survey—was done by the Gallup Organization of Princeton, New Jersey; it was composed of 1,528 persons, age 21 or older. We shall quote from their report as to the design of the sample:

The design of the sample is that of a probability sample down to the block level in the case of urban areas, and to segments of townships in the case of rural areas.

After stratifying the nation geographically and by size of community in order to insure conformity of the sample with the latest available estimate of the Census Bureau of the distribution of the adult population, 143 different sampling points or areas were selected on a strictly random basis, with probability of selection proportional to population size. An additional sample of 58 sampling points were drawn in the same manner from the states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Colorado. This procedure, in effect, doubled the number of sampling points drawn for these five states.

Approximately ten interviews were conducted in each such randomly selected sampling point with the exception of the sampling points in the five Southwestern states mentioned above in each of which approximately five interviews were conducted. The interviewers had no choice whatsoever concerning the part of the city or county in which they conducted their interviews. Interviewers were given maps of the area to which they were assigned, with a starting point



indica  
At eac  
to sel  
method  
follow  
Sinc  
sample  
21 or  
is, ex  
gious  
tions)  
for th  
people  
a samp  
in the  
The  
(East,  
males

The s

tive for

We must r

mentioned

of sample

eract amo

represent

it advers

While

variables

ness for

tables be

U.S. Summ

levels an

At the

and  $N = 1$

confidenc

indicated, and required to follow a specified direction. At each occupied dwelling unit, interviewers were instructed to select respondents by following a prescribed systematic method, and by a male-female assignment. This procedure was followed until the assigned number of interviews was completed.

Since this sampling procedure is designed to produce a sample which approximates the adult civilian population (age 21 or older) living in private households in the U.S. (that is, excluding those in prisons and hospitals, hotels, religious and educational institutions, and on military reservations), the survey results can be applied to this population for the purpose of projecting percentages into number of people. The manner in which the sample is drawn also produces a sample which approximates the population of private households in the United States.

The returned sample was balanced within each of four regions (East, Midwest, South, and West) by educational attainment by males and females, separately. <sup>17</sup>

The sample is then, by definition and operation, representative for the characteristics of age, sex, education and region. We must note that it is also more representative for the five mentioned Southwestern states—because of the additional number of sampling points—than for the rest of the nation, but the exact amount is not known. This could not help but increase the representativeness of the sample as a whole, and in no way could it adversely affect representativeness.

While the sample is representative for the above-mentioned variables, it would be worthwhile to examine the representativeness for other selected variables. To this end, we present the tables below. All figures listed as "census" come from the U.S. Summary of General Population Characteristics; confidence levels and margins are taken from the Gallup Report.

At the .95 percent confidence level, with percents near 90, and  $N = 1,500$ , sample error margin is  $\pm 2\%$ . For whites, the confidence interval is 85.8% - 89.8%, which includes the census

figu

sent

At

N = 7

dence

There

as fa

Be

chang

reason

was t

the f

from t

the ca

For th

change

At

N = 75

level

Table 2: Representativeness of Sample for Race

Race	Sample %	Census %
White	87.8	88.6
Non-white	12.2	11.4

figure. Therefore, we would conclude that the sample is representative as far as the variable of race.

Table 3: Representativeness of Sample for Size of Place

Location	Sample %	Census %
Urban	70.8	69.9
Rural	29.2	30.1

At the .95 confidence level, for percents near 70, with  $N = 750$ , sampling error margin is  $\pm 4\%$ . For urban, the confidence interval is 66.8% - 74.8%, which includes the census figure. Therefore, we would conclude that the sample is representative as far as the variable of size of place.

Because of inflation, income is subject to much more rapid change than any of the other variables listed above. For this reason, we have made an extrapolation from 1959 (when the census was taken) to 1963 (when the sample was taken) by estimating the four-year increase in income as a fraction of the change from 1950-1960. During this ten-year period, the percent in the category, \$4,999 or less, decreased 31.4%, or 3.14% per year. For the four years from 1959-1963, then, we would expect a change of approximately 12.6%.

At the confidence level of .95, with the percent near 40,  $N = 750$ , sampling error is  $\pm 4\%$ . For income, the confidence level for \$4,999 or less is 37.9% - 45.9%, which includes the

Ta

Incom

\$4,99

5,00

census f

represent

We wo

sentativ

this sam

Introduc

In ou

relation

to exert

previous

restrict

utilize

nor gene

usually

porated

analysis

Mult

situatio

inter-re

the rel

a third

Table 4: Representativeness for Sample for Income

Income	Sample %	Census %	
		1959	1963
\$4,999 or less	41.9	52.2 - 12.6	= 39.6
5,000 or more	58.1	47.8 + 12.6	= 60.4

census figure. Therefore, we would conclude that the sample is representative as far as the variable of income.

We would conclude from the above that the sample is representative of the U.S. population, and as such, findings based upon this sample will be generalizable to that population.

### Analysis

#### Introduction

In our theoretical chapter, we have argued that the inter-relationships among our independent variables make it necessary to exert some form of control. Further, we have argued that the previously used controls reduced the sample size, and thereby restricted generalizability. Therefore, we shall endeavor to utilize a method of control which does not restrict sample size nor generalizability. We have set upon that method of control usually referred to as 'multi-variate analysis', and have incorporated the excellent models of Lazarsfeld and Hyman in our analysis procedures.<sup>19</sup>

Multi-variate analysis is an appropriate tool to use in situations where one is examining relationships between three inter-related variables. Literally, it is a method of examining the relationship of two variables, while holding variance due to a third variable, more or less constant. If, for example, A and

B, B and C, as well as A and C are related, then one may have reason to suspect that the relation of any two variables is spurious, in reality being caused by the relationship of the other two, e.g., the relationship of B to C is spurious, caused by the relationship of A to B and A to C, etc. In order to see if B is related to C, independent of the relationship of A to B and C, one must figure out some way of holding the effect of A constant, or removing its effect upon B and C.

Partial correlations are one method of so doing, in that they mathematically remove the variance in one variable due to another, and then allow one to examine the effect of a third variable upon the remaining variance. However, partial correlations operate upon the entire variable at once, i.e., operate in terms of individual scores and assume a more or less linear relationship. And, due to the fact that they operate in terms of individual scores, it is relatively difficult to obtain a table (i.e., a visual method of inspecting curvilinearity). Therefore, one cannot ascertain the differential effects of a control variable, i.e., detecting a relationship of two variables which operates at one level of a control variable, yet not at another.

Multi-variate analysis, however, in that it operates in terms of grouped data—groups of individuals—does allow for this sort of inspection. Multi-variate analysis has the disadvantage of losing precision (compared to partial correlation) because of this grouped data. In grouped data, one is working, in effect, with the correlation of group means (or mean variance)

of the gr  
is workin  
a group  
and the  
variance  
the true  
We k  
variabl  
and sta  
curvili  
sistenc  
levels  
Bell an  
anomia  
to anor  
The  
over a  
least  
ranked  
interv  
powerf  
study.  
that i  
science  
accept  
of thec  
still p



of the group as a whole; whereas in partial correlation, one is working with the correlation of individual scores. Moreover, a group mean is much less sensitive than an individual mean, and the group mean contains, by definition, much more random variance; consequently, it has a less reliable estimation of the true population mean.

We know, however, two facts about the relationships of our variables. First, via the logical relationship of average status and status inconsistency, we know that there is likely to be a curvilinear relationship between average status and status inconsistency, with the most extreme status levels having the lowest levels of status inconsistency. Secondly, from the Meier and Bell article regarding the relationship of social mobility and anomia, we know that social mobility may be related differently to anomia at different levels of status.<sup>20</sup>

There is also another reason for using multi-variate analysis over and above the correlation methods. Correlations must at least have interval data; our data are not interval but are ranked at most. While arguments could be advanced for their intervality, it would be more conservative to utilize a less powerful test. Also, we must note the exploratory nature of our study. If there is a true difference involved, we must assume that it will become apparent. Given the logic and inquiry of science, it is far better to reject a valid hypothesis than to accept an invalid hypothesis and thereby place it into our body of theory. If we do, in fact, reject a valid hypothesis, it is still present in nature, and given more scientific inquiry, it

will sur

variate

Procedure

The f:

relations

related.

and on th

we should

ship of t

our notice

Second

dent vari

Orientati

tion. In

the conte

tion—or

(Or, at l

cription

related,

from des

specific

Our th

relations

able. In

category

as to det

will surely come to light again. Therefore, we shall use multivariate analysis.

### Procedures

The first step in our analysis will be to test the interrelationships of our independent variables to see if they are related. Logically, we have demonstrated that they should be, and on this basis suggested certain methods of control. Now, we should verify our contention, and check the actual relationship of these independent variables. If they are related, then our notions regarding the necessity of control are validated.

Second, we should test the interrelationships of our dependent variables, to see if "Present Life Standing" and "Future Orientation", as indicators of despair, are related to alienation. If they are related, then we have added plausibility to the contention that despair forms an integral part of alienation—or that alienation forms an integral part of despair. (Or, at least we will have added another element to the description of alienation.) If these dependent variables are not related, then we have indicated the independence of alienation from despair; and we then have proof of the current relative specificity of our alienation measures.

Our third analytic step will be to ascertain the first order relations of each independent variable to each dependent variable. In this set of tables, we will utilize the full ten-category range of status inconsistency and average status, so as to detect any curvilinearity in the relationships. We must

note, however  
a test of th  
be done only  
presence or  
rejects not

The four  
each indepe  
controlling  
relationshi  
status inco  
step, we wi  
able to the  
variable. /  
hypothesis

Finally  
variable t  
other two  
all three

In the  
be essent  
dependent  
variable  
order to  
ship. Th  
the "thec  
table in  
(while p

note, however, that these first order tables do not constitute a test of the original hypotheses stated in Chapter I; this can be done only with the controls instituted. At this level, the presence or absence of a relationship neither confirms nor rejects nothing.

The fourth analytic step will be to test the relationship of each independent variable to the dependent variables, while controlling for another of the independent variables—i.e., the relationship of average status to alienation, controlling for status inconsistency, then for social mobility, etc. In this step, we will examine the relationship of the independent variable to the dependent variable, at each level of the control variable. Analysis at this level will constitute a test of hypothesis.

Finally, we will examine the relationship of each independent variable to each dependent variable, while controlling for the other two independent variables. This step is necessary because all three variables have been shown to be logically inter-related.

In the tables presented at each level of analysis, there will be essentially two steps. As the first step, the means of the dependent variable for each value or level of the independent variable will be inspected, as well as the percentages, in order to determine the "pattern" or direction of the relationship. This step generally allows one to make statements about the "theoretical meaning" of the table, and thereby makes the table interpretable; if no pattern is present, then the table (while possibly statistically significant) has no theoretical

meaning.

step—a step

present, to

statistic u

possibly be

about such

use a less

servative c

this decisi

will be rem

the compute

capable of

to develop

Kolmogorov

ous—and ex

and other

measuremen

Related

statistica

variate an

lack of in

table to a

the relati

X, this ta

variable an

relationships

meaning. If theoretical meaning is present, then the second ~~step—a statistical test—~~will be attempted; if no pattern is present, the statistical test will not be attempted. The statistic used will be chi square. Although our data can possibly be interpreted as rank order data, there are questions about such an interpretation. Therefore, we have decided to use a less powerful and efficient test, in favor of a more conservative one. There are also pragmatic factors involved in this decision, revolving around the use of the computer. It will be remembered that, due to the size of the over-all project, the computer was necessary. Although computers are reputed to be capable of anything, it turns out to be quite a laborious process to develop programs for certain rank order statistics, e.g., Kolmogorov-Smirnoff, etc. Rather than go through this laborious—and expensive—process, it was decided to use a chi square and other statistics capable of being used at a nominal level of measurement.

Related to the problem of statistics, there are certain other statistical problems contained in the use of a complex multi-variate analysis procedure. Generally, these have to do with the lack of independence of observations from one multi-variate table to another. When, for example, one creates a table for the relationship of Y to Z, at various levels of control for X, this table contains a series of rows (values of the dependent variable and total) which are identical for a table listing the relationship of X to Z, controlling for Y. Only the order of

Figure

Table

Control Ind

Var

I

A

B

\* Marginal

the rows in

From th

of control

hand total

and lower-

independence

tics, assu

both table

icant sta

certain n

proportion

independence

tics comp

statistic

pendence'



Figure 6: Lack of Independence in Two Multi-Variate  
Tables Using the Same Controls

Table I						Table II					
Control	Indep.	Dep.				Control	Indep.	Dep.			
X	Variable Y	Variable Z				Y	X	Variable Z			
		r	s	t	*			r	s	t	*
A	a	4	5	6	15	a	A	4	5	6	15
	b	7	8	9	24	b	B	13	14	15	42
	c	10	11	12	33	c	A	7	8	9	24
B	a	13	14	15	42	b	B	16	17	18	51
	b	16	17	18	51	c	A	10	11	12	33
	c	19	20	21	60		B	19	20	21	60

\* Marginals.

the rows is changed.

From this example, it is obvious that the two different types of controls do not change one set of marginals, i.e., the right hand totals; nor do they shift the extremes, i.e., the upper- and lower-most rows. This would, we argue, create a lack of independence between the two tables, so that two sets of statistics, assuming independence, could not be legitimately run for both tables—or at least an interpretation based upon one significant statistic would be risky. Literally, we would expect a certain number of significant statistics to occur with a higher proportion of times by chance alone than if there were true independence. In order to interpret the significance of statistics computed for the above set of tables, a distribution of statistics would be needed which would take this 'lack of independence' into account. Because such a table is not now in

existence,  
patterns th  
form. That  
of control,  
icant findi  
the usage o  
have each v  
as having a  
variate typ

Because  
in the sta  
the follow

AS  
SI  
SM  
P  
N  
SO  
FN

PS  
FO

We hypoth

I. A. A s  
on  
rel  
sco

B. A s  
on  
shi  
on

II. Lit  
P,

existence, we would argue that it is much better to inspect the patterns that the various combinations of rows (and their means) form. That is, if a stable pattern forms across several levels of control, then we would be prepared to accept it as a significant finding. We might note that this is also an argument for the usage of as many levels of control as possible—that is, have each variable contain as many values as possible, as well as having a relatively large sample in any study using a multivariate type of analysis.

### Operational Hypotheses

Because of the relatively high amount of redundancy occurring in the statement of operationalized hypotheses, we shall utilize the following set of abbreviations:

AS - Average Status  
 SI - Status Inconsistency  
 SM - Social Mobility  
 P - Powerlessness (sub-scale of alienation)  
 N - Normlessness (sub-scale of alienation)  
 SOI- Social Isolation (sub-scale of alienation)  
 PN - Powerlessness-Normlessness Combined (sub-scale of alienation)  
 PS - Present Standing on Ladder  
 FO - Future Orientation

We hypothesize:

- I. A. A significant difference, between AS groups, in the scores on P, N, SOI, and PN, taking the form of an inverse, linear relationship, i.e., with the higher AS groups having lower scores than the lower AS groups.
- B. A significant difference, between AS groups, in the scores on PS and FO, taking the form of a direct, linear relationship, i.e., with the higher AS groups having higher scores on PS and FO than lower AS groups.
- II. Little or no difference between SI groups in the scores on P, N, SOI, PN, PS, or FO.

III. Sig  
"Do  
no  
in  
we  
high  
on  
SK

IV. A.At  
enc  
rem  
B.At  
enc  
rem

V. A.At  
enc  
(1)

(2)

B.At  
enc  
(1)

(2)

VI. A.At  
enc  
PN  
to  
the  
gro  
and

B.At  
enc  
PN  
to  
the  
gro  
and

- III. Significant differences between the SM groups of "Downward", and "Upward and Stable", but little or no difference between "Upward" and "Stable" SM groups, in the scores on P, N, SOI, PN, PS and FO. Further, we hypothesize that the "Downward" group will have higher scores on P, N, SOI and PN, with lower scores on PS and FO, than either the "Upward" or "Stable" SM groups.
- IV. A. At all levels of control for SI we expect the differences between AS groups hypothesized in I.A. above to remain constant.
- B. At all levels of control for SM, we expect the differences between AS groups hypothesized in I.B. above to remain constant.
- V. A. At all levels of control for AS, a significant difference between SI groups:
- (1) In the scores on P, N, SOI, and PN, taking the form of a direct linear relationship, with the higher SI groups having higher scores than the lower SI groups.
  - (2) In the scores on PS and FO, taking the form of an inverse linear relationship, with the higher SI groups having lower scores than the lower SI groups.
- B. At all levels of control for SM, a significant difference between SI groups:
- (1) In the scores on P, N, SOI and PN, taking the form of a direct linear relationship, with the higher SI groups having higher scores than the lower SI groups.
  - (2) In the scores on PS and FO, taking the form of an inverse linear relationship, with the higher SI groups having lower scores than the lower SI groups.
- VI. A. At all levels of control for AS, a significant difference between all SM groups in the scores on P, N, SOI, PN, PS, and FO. Again, we expect the "Down" SM group to have the highest scores on P, N, SOI, and PN, and the lowest scores on PS and FO; and the "Stable" SM group to have the lowest scores on P, N, SOI, and PN, and the highest scores on PS and FO.
- B. At all levels of control for SI, a significant difference between all SM groups, in the scores on P, N, SOI, PN, PS, and FO. Again, we expect the "Down" SM group to have the highest scores on P, N, SOI, and PN, and the lowest scores on PS and FO; and the "Stable" SM group to have the lowest scores on P, N, SOI, and PN, and the highest scores on PS and FO.

VII. A

VIII. A

IX. A

- VII. At all levels of third order control, with SI as the primary control, and SM as the secondary control, the differences between AS groups hypothesized in I.A., on preceding page, to remain constant.
- VIII. At all levels of third order control, with AS as the primary control, and SM as the secondary control, the differences between AS groups hypothesized in V.A.(1 and 2) and V.B.(1 and 2) to remain the same.
- IX. At all levels of third order control, with AS as the primary control, and SI as the secondary control, the differences in SM groups hypothesized in VI.A. and B. remain constant.

1. Gerhard  
Dimension of  
(August, 1951)
2. Walter  
tions in the  
Sociological
3. This is  
aimed at o  
crystalliz

By subtrac  
lization,  
sistency.

4. Briefl  
occupatio  
sion anal  
the occup  
available  
for occup  
tions as  
sion equa  
prestige  
no prest.

5. Lensk
6. Emory  
Research  
ethnic g  
ing in th  
for exam  
also.

7. Seymour  
Industrial  
California

8. Gwynn  
Review, 2  
Measureme  
(October,

9. Freder  
Analysis,

10. This  
dissertat.



## FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

1. Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, 19 (August, 1954), 405-513.

2. Walter B. Watson and Ernest A.T. Barth, "Questionable Assumptions in the Theory of Social Stratification," Pacific Sociological Review, 7(Spring, 1964), 10-16.

3. This is a modification of Lenski's original formula, which was aimed at operationalizing status crystallization, e.g., status crystallization:

$$100 - \sqrt{\sum (x_{i.j} - \bar{x}_{ij})^2}.$$

By subtracting from 100, a low score would indicate high crystallization, or in our obverse operationalization, low status inconsistency. In practice, then, they are similar formulas.

4. Briefly, this study predicted the prestige scores of all occupations listed in the census, based upon a multiple regression analysis of the correlation between education and income of the occupations for which North-Hatt prestige scores were available. That is, Duncan and Hatt correlated prestige scores for occupations with the income and education of those occupations as listed by the census. From this, a multiple regression equation was developed which was then used to predict prestige scores for census occupations which previously had no prestige ranking.

5. Lenski, op. cit., pp. 406-407.

6. Emory Bogardus, "Race Reactions by Sex," Sociology and Social Research, 43 (August, 1959), 439-441. This ranking of various ethnic groups by social distance does not contradict our ranking in that every ethnic group classified by our method as "low", for example, ranks below every higher group in the Bogardus scale also.

7. Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960).

8. Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 22 (December, 1957), 670-677; Dwight Dean, "Meaning and Measurement of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 26 (October, 1961), 753-758.

9. Frederick B. Waisanen, "A Notation Technique for Scalogram Analysis," Sociological Quarterly, 1 (November, 1960), 245-252.

10. This sample was carried out by Clark McPhail as part of his dissertation analysis, "Self Identification Within a Specific

Context of  
tion, Mich

11. In the  
social is  
not unidire

12. Improv  
average m  
the larges  
is the amo  
knowledge  
used: C.R.

age incre  
pattern o  
an arbitr  
improveme  
Rigorous  
Analysis  
graphed.

13. Meier  
McDill,  
Status:  
1961), 2

14. Hadl  
American

15. The  
tions: Th  
Service,  
and the A  
sity.

16. The d  
Waisanen,  
was actin  
other sta  
(1963-64)  
64), Robe

17. Gallup  
Sociology  
1964), pp

18. U. S.,  
Characteri

19. Paul  
a Research  
(eds.), The  
1955); and  
The Free

20. Meier

Context of Experience and Behavior" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1965).

11. In this latter effort, it became clearly apparent that social isolation—for the Japanese—was unscalable and therefore not unidimensional for that culture.

12. Improvement over chance was figured by first computing the average minimum marginal reproducibility (taking the average of the largest marginals for each item, on the assumption that this is the amount of response which could be predicted without any knowledge of the scale patterns); then, the following formula was used: 
$$\frac{C.R. - M.M.R.}{1 - M.M.R.}$$
 which gives an estimate of the percent-

age increase in predictability obtainable by using the scale pattern over the marginals. J.M. Jackson has suggested that an arbitrary figure of .70 be required as defining a sufficient improvement over chance. J.M. Jackson, "A Simple and More Rigorous Technique for Scale Analysis," in A Manual for Scale Analysis, Part II (Montreal: McGill University, 1949), mimeographed.

13. Meier and Bell, op. cit.; Nettler, op.cit.; and Edward L. McDill, "Anomie, Authoritarianism, Prejudice and Socio-Economic Status: An Attempt at Clarification," Social Forces, 39 (March, 1961), 239-245.

14. Hadley Cantril, "Hopes and Fears for Self and Country," American Behavioral Scientist, 6 (October, 1962), supplement.

15. The study was sponsored by a variety of agencies and foundations: The Carnegie Foundation, the United States Public Health Service, the International Programs of Michigan State University, and the Agricultural Extension Service of Michigan State University.

16. The directors of the Five Nations Project are Frederick Waisanen, Hideya Kumata, and Charles P. Loomis; Robert L. Stewart was acting director from September, 1963 to September, 1964; other staff members were Clark McPhail (1962-63), Jon Reeves (1963-64), Charles W. Tucker (1962-66), Cay Bettinghaus (1963-64), Robert O. Turley (1964-66), and Richard A. Brymer (1962-64).

17. Gallup Organization, Inc., Report to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University (March, 1964), pp. 3-4.

18. U. S., Bureau of the Census, Summary of General Population Characteristics: 1960.

19. Paul Lazarsfeld, "Interpretation of Statistical Relations as a Research Operation," in Paul Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (eds.), The Language of Social Research (New York: The Free Press, 1955); and Herbert Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis (New York: The Free Press, 1955).

20. Meier and Bell, op. cit.

In this  
developed  
hypotheses  
chapter sh  
Section  
detailing  
Average St  
Mobility (  
upon the c  
the relat  
set of ta  
but will  
pretation  
Section  
depicting  
Powerless  
Powerless  
Future Or  
of the re  
not analy

## CHAPTER III

### ANALYSIS

#### Introduction

In this chapter, we shall present our analysis of the materials developed in Chapter II, which shall also constitute a test of the hypotheses suggested at the end of Chapter I. Briefly, this chapter shall contain six sections.

Section 1 shall contain a set of tables and interpretations detailing the inter-relations of the independent variables, e.g., Average Status (AS), Status Inconsistency (SI), and Social Mobility (SM). Also, we shall analyze the effect of each variable upon the other, while controlling for the third, i.e., examining the relationship of AS to SM while holding SI constant, etc. This set of tables shall not constitute a test of hypotheses as such, but will give us information which will allow us to make interpretations of tables which do constitute tests of hypotheses.

Section 2 shall contain a set of tables and interpretations depicting the inter-relationships of the dependent variables, i.e., Powerlessness (P), Normlessness (N), Social Isolation (SOI), Powerlessness-Normlessness (PN), Present Standing (PS), and Future Orientation (FO). Principally, however, it will consist of the relationships of PS and FO to P, N, SOI, and PN. We shall not analyze the inter-relationships of P, N, SOI, and PN because

this was

II, and wa

be concern

or are not

spoken of

Section

order rela

SK) to our

ences to d

not in the

significa

of course

and strat

section v

later ta

This

concerne

pendent

ship of

controll

constitu

that a r

ables w

Sect.

relation

able to

this was done in the previous Guttman scale analysis in Chapter II, and would, therefore, be redundant. One element we will be concerned with here is the degree to which PS and FO are, or are not, related to alienation, and whether they can be spoken of as constituting aspects of alienation.

Section 3 shall contain a set of tables listing the first order relationships of our independent variables (AS, SI, and SM) to our dependent variables. We expect significant differences to occur in the tables listing the AS relationships, but not in the tables listing the SI or SM relationships. Finding significant differences with respect to AS and alienation would, of course, validate our operationalizations of both alienation and stratification. Much of the information gleaned in this section will be used as background in the interpretation of later tables and sections.

This section shall contain a set of tables and interpretations concerned with the second order relationships of our three independent variables to the dependent variables—i.e., the relationship of one independent variable to a dependent variable, while controlling for another independent variable. This section shall constitute tests of hypotheses, and it is here that we expect that a relationship between SI and SM and the dependent variables will become apparent.

Section 5 shall contain our inspection of the third order relationships—i.e., the relationships of an independent variable to a dependent variable while controlling for the other two

independe

constitut

Final

and our c

Rela

First Ord

In thi

AS, SI ar

concerns

of this

principa

of SI, a

the SI u

is curv

and low

curvili

approxi

Empiric

sistenc

um, as

An

means)

tionsh

lower

relati

lower



independent variables simultaneously. Again, this section shall constitute a test of hypotheses.

Finally, we shall present a general summary of the findings, and our conclusions based upon those findings.

#### Relationship of Average Status, Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility

##### First Order Relationships

In this section, we shall inspect the inter-relations of AS, SI and SM. The first relationship presented (Table 1) concerns the effects of AS and SI upon each other. The body of this table presents the N falling in each AS-SI cell. Of principal interest, however, are the AS means for each level of SI, and the SI means for each level of AS. Inspection of the SI means (row means) for each level of AS reveals that AS is curvilinearly related to SI. That is, persons in the highest and lowest AS categories have low SI means. The peak of this curvilinear relationship falls at the third AS level, or approximately the equivalent of a "lower middle" status. Empirically, then the point of highest or most extreme inconsistency falls not at the exact middle of the status continuum, as was suggested earlier, but somewhat lower.

An inspection of the mean AS for each level of SI (the column means), however, reveals that there is a slightly inverse relationship operating, with the higher levels of SI having relatively lower levels of average status. This may be a reflection of the relative concentration of highly inconsistent persons in the lower status ranges. That is, of those persons who are highly

Table 1: Average Status by Status Inconsistency, Using the Full Ten-Value Range

Average

STATUS INCONSISTENCY

Table 1: Average Status by Status Inconsistency, Using the Full Ten-Value Range

Average Status	STATUS INCONSISTENCY											Total	Row $\bar{X}$
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	(%)		
0	38	34	28	22	7	3	1	6	1	7	( 9.7)	147	2.16
1	1	16	16	5	15	4	19	12	45	11	( 9.5)	144	5.56
2	4	7	6	11	13	16	8	43	22	16	( 9.6)	146	5.84
3	3	5	7	14	19	21	24	29	28	13	(10.7)	163	5.71
4	6	4	2	20	21	19	23	15	27	12	( 9.8)	149	5.46
5	0	4	22	18	22	22	17	20	17	25	(11.0)	167	5.41
6	9	19	16	20	19	18	12	27	5	30	(11.5)	175	4.85
7	16	13	17	20	20	28	5	9	12	19	(10.5)	159	4.32
8	28	4	15	11	6	25	17	9	7	15	( 9.0)	137	4.18
9	44	51	4	13	6	2	12	3	0	0	( 8.9)	135	1.67
(%)	9.8	10.3	8.7	10.1	9.7	10.4	9.1	11.4	10.8	9.7	(100.0)	1,522	4.49
Total	149	157	133	154	148	158	138	173	164	148			
Col. $\bar{X}$	5.56	4.95	4.05	4.57	4.38	5.11	4.60	3.87	3.27	4.65	4.49		

$\chi^2 = 734, p < .001.$



inconsistent, there are more in the lower end of the middle range than in the upper end of the middle range. The chi square for the entire table is 734, which is significant at beyond the .001 level.

When the full ten-value range of both AS and SI is collapsed into the five and three category ranges to be used in the control tables, the curvilinear and inverse relationships become much more pronounced and clear (Table 1a). In any case, these tables demonstrate the need for control when examining the relationship of either AS or SI to any third variable.

Table 2 demonstrates the relationship between Average Status and Social Mobility. Again of importance are the row and column means, listing, respectively, the mean SM for each level of AS, and the mean AS for each level of SM. We must comment on the concept of "mean Social Mobility". This is, of course, an incorrect usage of the statistical device of the mean because presumably the various categories of Social Mobility cannot legitimately be ordered, i.e., they are nominal. For this reason, we have also included the percentages across, i.e., the percent of persons falling into the various SM categories at each level of AS. An inspection of these percentages across, as well as the "mean SM", for each AS level, reveals that there is a roughly linear relationship, with higher AS persons having higher proportions in the "Upwardly Mobile" category than those persons of lower AS. This is to be expected. The reverse, however, is not true. Lower status persons reveal little downward mobility, with the largest concentration (94.6%) existing in the



Table 1a: Average Status by Status Inconsistency, for Collapsed Values of Average Status and Status Inconsistency

Average Status	STATUS INCONSISTENCY			Total	$\bar{X}$
	Low	Med	High		
(Low) 0				291	3.84
1				309	5.77
2				316	5.43
3				334	4.56
(High) 4				272	2.93
Total	439	598	485		
$\bar{X}$ *	4.85	4.67	3.92		

\* Means derived from ten-value range.

Table 2: Average Status by Social Mobility

Average Status	SOCIAL MOBILITY			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	Down N (%)	Stable N (%)	Up N (%)		
(Low) 0	3( 2.3)	122(94.6)	4( 3.1)	129(100)	2.01
1	10( 7.6)	114(87.0)	7( 5.4)	131(100)	1.98
2	11( 8.2)	109(81.3)	14(10.5)	134(100)	2.02
3	20(13.5)	112(15.7)	16(10.8)	148(100)	1.97
4	16(11.6)	98(71.0)	24(17.4)	138(100)	2.06
5	17(11.2)	90(59.2)	45(29.6)	152(100)	2.18
6	21(12.9)	88(54.0)	54(33.1)	163(100)	2.20
7	13( 8.4)	90(58.1)	52(33.5)	155(100)	2.25
8	9( 6.9)	64(49.2)	57(43.9)	130(100)	2.37
(High) 9	2( 1.5)	73(55.7)	56(42.8)	131(100)	2.41
Total	122( 8.7)	960(68.0)	329(23.3)	1411(100)	
Col. $\bar{X}$	4.49	4.00	6.24	4.56	

$$\chi^2 = 191.1, df = 18, p < .001.$$

•  
•  
•  
•

.....

• • • • •

•  
•  
•  
•  
•  
•  
•  
•  
•  
•

10

•



"Stable" category. What downward mobility there is appears to fall into the middle and lower middle levels of AS. This is, of course, paralleled by examining the mean AS for each social mobility category, which reveals that (as expected) the "Upwardly Mobiles" have the highest mean AS; what is somewhat surprising, though, is the finding that those persons who are downwardly mobile have higher AS than those who are stable. We must remember that we are using an inter-generational measure of mobility. The chi square for the entire table is 191, which is significant at beyond the .001 level.

This finding will affect our hypotheses, in that we should now expect that those persons in the "Stable" category of SM will have higher alienation than either the upwardly or downwardly mobile, strictly because of the "contamination" by the AS dimension. This points up the need for control in examining the effect of SM on alienation.

Table 3 lists the relationship of Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility, and uses the full ten-value range of Status Inconsistency. Further, Table 3 indicates a small but statistically significant direct relationship between SI and SM, with a chi square of 34.5, which is significant  $.025 > p > .01$ . By examining the mean SI for each category of SM, we can see that the "Downwardly Mobile" have the lowest mean SI, and the "Upwardly Mobile" have the highest mean SI. An inspection of the mean SM, as well as the percentages across for each level of SI, reveals that there is a very roughly direct linear

Table 3: Status Inconsistency by Social Mobility

Status Inconsis.	SOCIAL MOBILITY			Total (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	Down 1	Stable 2	Up 3		
(Low) 0	8	101	29	138( 9.8)	2.15
1	12	100	28	140( 9.9)	2.11
2	14	84	22	120( 8.5)	2.07
3	17	95	26	138( 9.8)	2.07
4	13	100	22	135( 9.6)	2.07
5	14	89	43	146(10.3)	2.20
6	9	84	34	127( 9.0)	2.20
7	14	119	35	168(11.9)	2.13
8	14	106	37	157(11.1)	2.15
(High) 9	7	82	53	142(10.1)	2.32
Total	122	960	329	1411(100)	
Col. $\bar{X}$	4.43	4.50	5.09	4.63	

$$\chi^2 = 34.5, df = 18, .025 > p > .01.$$

relationship, with the higher levels of SI having generally higher SM means, and larger percentages of persons in the "Stable" and "Upward" SM categories. This relationship does, however, produce some degree of confusion, because from Table 2 we know that the "Upward" SM category has a high AS mean—and from Table 1 we know that "High" AS persons have relatively low SI. That is, from Tables 1 and 2 we would assume that upwardly mobile persons have low SI; and in fact they have high SI. This again points up the need for control.

### Second Order Control Relationships

In this section we shall examine the inter-relationships of our three independent variables, two at a time, while controlling

• 1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This is often done through market research, which involves gathering information about potential customers and their needs. Once a market need is identified, the next step is to develop a concept for a product that meets that need. This is often done through brainstorming and prototyping. Once a concept is developed, the next step is to create a business plan for the product. This plan should outline the costs of production, the pricing strategy, and the marketing strategy. Once a business plan is created, the next step is to secure funding for the product. This can be done through a variety of methods, including crowdfunding, venture capital, and bank loans. Once funding is secured, the next step is to manufacture the product. This is often done through a contract manufacturer. Once the product is manufactured, the next step is to distribute it to customers. This can be done through a variety of methods, including direct sales, retail stores, and online sales. Finally, the last step in the process is to monitor the product's performance in the market. This is often done through sales data and customer feedback.

• 2. The second step in the process of creating a new product is to develop a concept for a product that meets that need. This is often done through brainstorming and prototyping. Once a concept is developed, the next step is to create a business plan for the product. This plan should outline the costs of production, the pricing strategy, and the marketing strategy. Once a business plan is created, the next step is to secure funding for the product. This can be done through a variety of methods, including crowdfunding, venture capital, and bank loans. Once funding is secured, the next step is to manufacture the product. This is often done through a contract manufacturer. Once the product is manufactured, the next step is to distribute it to customers. This can be done through a variety of methods, including direct sales, retail stores, and online sales. Finally, the last step in the process is to monitor the product's performance in the market. This is often done through sales data and customer feedback.

• 3. The third step in the process of creating a new product is to create a business plan for the product. This plan should outline the costs of production, the pricing strategy, and the marketing strategy. Once a business plan is created, the next step is to secure funding for the product. This can be done through a variety of methods, including crowdfunding, venture capital, and bank loans. Once funding is secured, the next step is to manufacture the product. This is often done through a contract manufacturer. Once the product is manufactured, the next step is to distribute it to customers. This can be done through a variety of methods, including direct sales, retail stores, and online sales. Finally, the last step in the process is to monitor the product's performance in the market. This is often done through sales data and customer feedback.

• 4. The fourth step in the process of creating a new product is to secure funding for the product. This can be done through a variety of methods, including crowdfunding, venture capital, and bank loans. Once funding is secured, the next step is to manufacture the product. This is often done through a contract manufacturer. Once the product is manufactured, the next step is to distribute it to customers. This can be done through a variety of methods, including direct sales, retail stores, and online sales. Finally, the last step in the process is to monitor the product's performance in the market. This is often done through sales data and customer feedback.

• 5. The fifth step in the process of creating a new product is to manufacture the product. This is often done through a contract manufacturer. Once the product is manufactured, the next step is to distribute it to customers. This can be done through a variety of methods, including direct sales, retail stores, and online sales. Finally, the last step in the process is to monitor the product's performance in the market. This is often done through sales data and customer feedback.

• 6. The sixth step in the process of creating a new product is to distribute it to customers. This can be done through a variety of methods, including direct sales, retail stores, and online sales. Finally, the last step in the process is to monitor the product's performance in the market. This is often done through sales data and customer feedback.

• 7. The seventh step in the process of creating a new product is to monitor the product's performance in the market. This is often done through sales data and customer feedback.

• 8. The eighth step in the process of creating a new product is to monitor the product's performance in the market. This is often done through sales data and customer feedback.

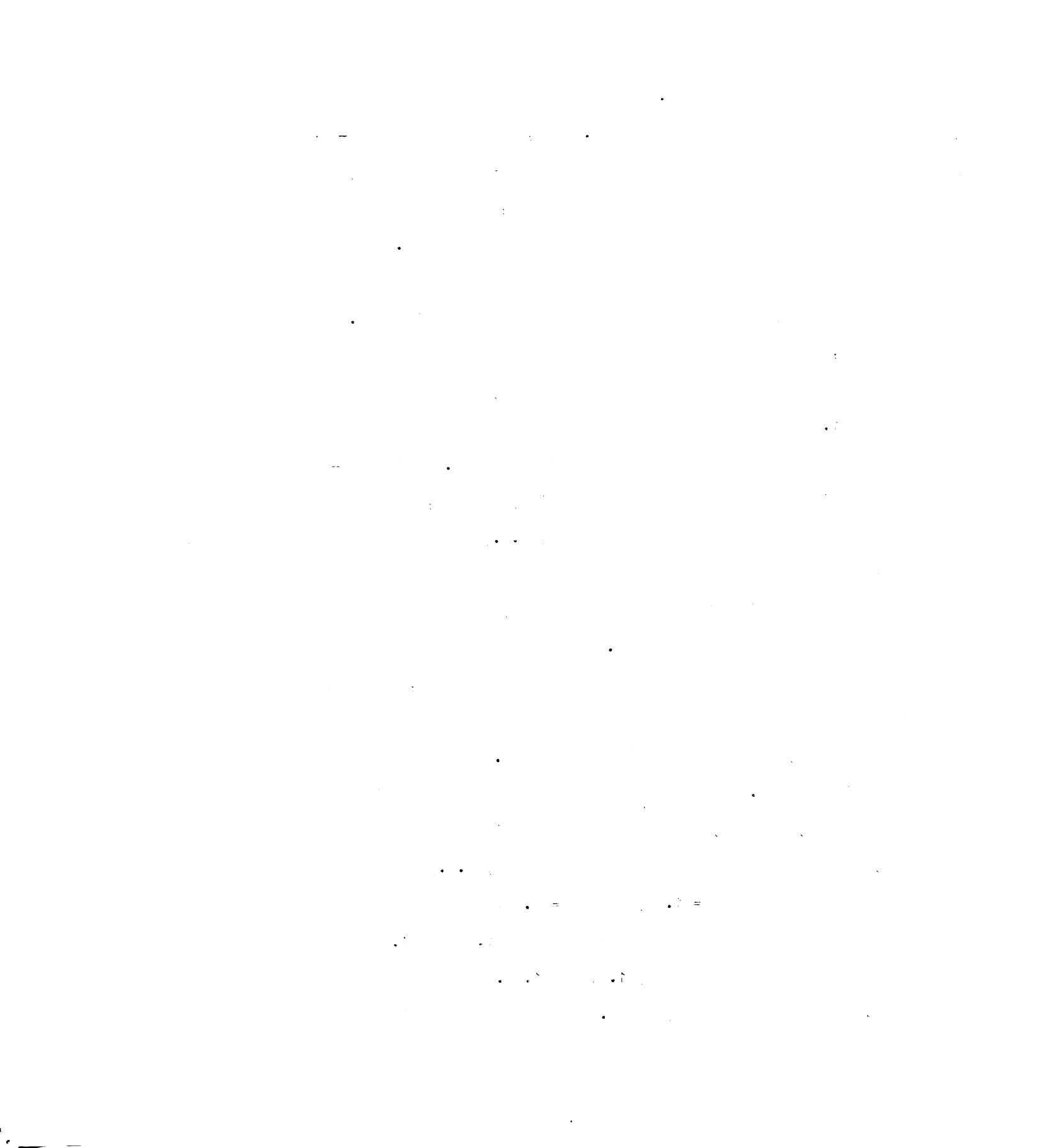
• 9. The ninth step in the process of creating a new product is to monitor the product's performance in the market. This is often done through sales data and customer feedback.

• 10. The tenth step in the process of creating a new product is to monitor the product's performance in the market. This is often done through sales data and customer feedback.

for the effect of the third. In these tables, we shall present only N and the row and column means. And, following our argument regarding the use of statistics in multi-variate tables, we shall not compute any statistics; instead, we shall rely upon a simple inspection of patterns of row and column means.

Table 4 details the relationships of Average Status and Social Mobility, at all three levels of Status Inconsistency. Generally, we can say that the control for SI does not disrupt the linearity of mean SM for each level of AS, which was found in Table 1. That is, at each level of SI, there is a general increase in mean SM with each increase in AS level. This linearity would appear to be somewhat clarified, however, as one moves from low to high SI control levels, i.e., the linearity is ever increasing at the high SI level, whereas there is some slight curvilinearity for the "Low" AS levels, at the "Low" and "Medium" levels of the SI control.

With respect to the mean AS for each category of SM, however, all we can say is that the "Upward" category, at all levels of the SI control, maintains the highest mean AS. This also was present in Table 2. The mean AS of the "Stable" and "Down" SM categories, however, is changed from that in the original table, but only for the "Low" SI control level, i.e., at the "Low" SI level, "Stable" = 1.86, "Down" = 3.68, whereas at the "Medium" SI level the means are respectively, 1.86 and 1.90; and at the "High" SI control level, 1.51 and 1.48. These compare with 4.49 for the "Down" SM, and 4.00 for the "Stable" in the



original table (Table 2).

A problem, then, is about elements in the "Low" level of SI which create approximately equal amounts of mean AS among "Up" and "Down" SM persons. If we remember that the "Low" SI grouping contains both very high and low AS persons, but with a preponderance of high AS persons; and that in terms of mobility, most lower AS persons are stable; then, it may be that for those of low inconsistency, mobility separates out those persons who are high and low status. That is, we know that the "Low" SI group is composed of both very high, and very low AS persons, with a relatively high AS mean. Then, those who are low status are also stable, so that only those downwardly mobile persons who are somewhat middle class are left, and they combine to form the relatively high mean AS present in the downwardly mobile group at the low SI level. In effect, we are observing another form of the SI-AS relationship, as it operates via SM. As it also turns out, the entire group of "Down" SM to "Low" SI has an N of 34, of a sample of 1,522 (or approximately 2.4%). And, of these 34, 16 fell in the next to highest AS level.

Table 5 lists the relationship of Average Status to Status Inconsistency, for the three levels or categories of Social Mobility. An inspection of the SI means for each level of AS, reveals that the controls for SM do not disrupt, nor appreciably alter, the curvilinearity of SI or AS. Nor is the linear regression of AS scores for each increasing level of SI altered, except for those persons in the "Stable" level of control. If anything, this relationship is made much more clear in the "Up" and "Down"



Table 4: Average Status by Social Mobility at Each Level of Status Inconsistency

STATUS INCONSISTENCY											
Low Inconsistency (Social Mobility)				Medium Inconsistency (Social Mobility)				High Inconsistency (Social Mobility)			
AS		Down Stable Up		AS		Down Stable Up		AS		Down Stable Up	
(Lo)	0	4	108	1	1.97	(Lo)	0	4	63	3	1.99
1		2	26	0	1.93	1		16	84	10	1.95
2		4	25	4	2.00	2		17	104	25	2.05
3		16	50	17	2.01	3		13	74	47	2.25
(Hi)	4	8	76	57	2.35	(Hi)	4	3	43	40	2.43
$\bar{X}$		3.68	1.86	3.63		$\bar{X}$		1.90	1.86	2.89	
								1.48	1.51	2.32	

Table 5: Average Status by Status Inconsistency at Each Level of Social Mobility

SOCIAL MOBILITY											
Downward (Status Inconsistency)				Stable (Status Inconsistency)				Upward (Status Inconsistency)			
AS		Low Med High		AS		Low Med High		AS		Low Med High	
(Lo)	0	4	4	5	1.08	(Lo)	0	108	63	65	.82
1		2	6	13	1.35	1		26	84	111	1.38
2		4	17	12	1.24	2		25	104	59	1.18
3		16	13	5	.68	3		50	74	54	1.02
(Hi)	4	8	3	0	.27	(Hi)	4	76	43	18	.58
$\bar{X}$		3.68	1.90	1.48		$\bar{X}$		1.86	1.86	1.51	
								3.63	2.89	2.32	



• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

levels of control, for in the original table (Table 1a), there was only a small difference in mean AS between the "Low" and "Medium" levels of SI—4.85 and 4.67, respectively. The lack of a difference in mean AS between the "Low" and "Medium" levels of SI at the "Stable" category of control may be due to the correlation of SM and AS, particularly the fact that the "Stable" group in Table 2 has the lowest mean AS of all three SM groups. That is, the "Stable" group contains disproportionate numbers of lower class persons, who are also, by definition very low in SI (Table 1). It would appear, then, that SM might obscure the relationship of AS and SI, in the original tables.

This interpretation would appear to be the case, when Table 6 (which describes the relationship of Social Mobility to Status Inconsistency, at all levels of Average Status) is inspected. That is, "Up" SM, at each level of AS, apparently creates high SI. The converse relationship is also clarified by the control for AS. In the original table (Table 3), the regression of mean SM for each level of SI was somewhat linear; in the control table, these SM means are, in all cases, clearly linear. What is not particularly clarified, however, is the difference between the "Down" and "Stable" categories of SM; at the "Low" AS level, the "Down" category has a higher mean SI than the "Stable" (1.07 vs. .82), whereas at the third and fourth status levels, the "Stable" category has a higher mean SI than the "Down" category; and the middle AS levels of "One" and "Two" retain the lack of differentiation present in the original table. It is clear,



Table 6: Status Inconsistency by Social Mobility at Each Level of Average Status

AVERAGE STATUS														
(Low) 0				1				2						
SI	Down	Stable	Up	$\bar{X}$	SI	Down	Stable	Up	$\bar{X}$	SI	Down	Stable	Up	$\bar{X}$
Low	4	108	1	1.97	Low	2	26	0	1.93	Low	4	25	4	2.00
Med	4	63	3	1.99	Med	16	84	10	1.95	Med	17	104	25	2.05
High	5	65	7	2.03	High	13	111	20	2.05	High	12	59	40	2.25
$\bar{X}$	1.08	.82	1.55		$\bar{X}$	1.35	1.38	1.67		$\bar{X}$	1.24	1.18	1.52	

3				4 (High)					
SI	Down	Stable	Up	$\bar{X}$	SI	Down	Stable	Up	$\bar{X}$
Low	16	50	17	2.01	Low	8	76	57	2.35
Med	13	74	47	2.25	Med	3	43	40	2.43
High	5	54	42	2.37	High	0	18	16	2.47
$\bar{X}$	.68	1.02	1.24		$\bar{X}$	.27	.58	.64	



though, that the control for AS does alter the relationship of SM and SI.

The previous statement might serve as a model for our summary of the relationships of our independent variables. That is, at the first order level, it is evident that there are a series of contaminated inter-relationships between AS, SI and SM. For example, we note from Table 1 that high AS persons are likely to have low SI; from Table 1, high AS persons are also likely to be "Up" SM; this would then lead us to the tentative conclusion that "Up" SM persons are also likely to be low SI, because of the relationship between SM and AS. But this is not the case, as we can see from Table 3, where "Up" SM persons have relatively high SI—the exact opposite of our prediction. At the control levels, we also saw that many of the original patterns held up; but also, some are appreciably changed. While our main point is not to clarify the relationship of these three variables, it is clear that they are highly inter-related. And, this, of course, validates our original statement regarding the necessity of control in examining the relationship of these three variables to alienation. Further, it points up the need to control at both the second and third order levels, because many of the original relationships of these independent variables continued to hold at the second order.

#### Relationship of Dependent Variables

In this section, we shall present the inter-relationships of our dependent variables. We shall present, however, only those



relationships between Present Standing and Future Orientation, and the set of four alienation measures, i.e., Powerlessness, Social Isolation, Normlessness, and the combined form, Powerlessness-Normlessness. (Hereafter, we shall refer to these variables by their initials.) It will be remembered that these former variables were constructed in an effort to delineate a relatively "pure" measure of the "despair" or "dismal future" outlook imputed to alienation by some alienation theorists. At this point, then, we would like to carry out an empirical examination of the relationship between these two different "forms" or "aspects" of alienation.

Tables 7, 8, 9 and 10 document the relationship of Present Standing to the alienation scales: P, SOI, N and PN. It will be recalled that PS was measured by asking the respondent to place himself on a ladder describing his present standing between the best and worst possible lives that he could imagine. The values of PS in Tables 7-10 represent these standings. It will be noted that the vast majority of persons ranked themselves as standing at step five or above, with only 10 percent ranking themselves below five. This would seem to indicate that Americans consider themselves as having a relatively good life, or at least a "better than average" life.

All tables exhibit significant chi squares, with probabilities of .01 or less. An inspection of the column means—or the means PS for each level of alienation—reveals that there is inverse and fairly linear regression of PS on alienation; with each increase in alienation level, there is a consistent decrease in



Table 7: Present Standing by Powerlessness

Present Standing	POWERLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	1 (6.7)	6 (40.0)	8 (53.5)	15 (100)	1.47
1	1 (8.3)	5 (41.7)	6 (50.0)	12 (100)	1.42
2	1 (8.3)	5 (41.7)	6 (50.0)	12 (100)	1.42
3	7 (18.9)	15 (40.5)	15 (40.6)	37 (100)	1.22
4	18 (21.7)	37 (44.6)	28 (33.7)	83 (100)	1.12
5	84 (28.7)	129 (44.0)	80 (27.3)	293 (100)	.99
6	70 (33.0)	84 (39.6)	58 (27.4)	212 (100)	.94
7	94 (41.6)	92 (40.7)	40 (17.7)	226 (100)	.76
8	106 (36.8)	114 (39.6)	68 (23.6)	288 (100)	.87
9	40 (37.4)	41 (38.3)	26 (24.3)	107 (100)	.87
(High) 10	83 (37.7)	85 (38.6)	52 (23.7)	220 (100)	.86
Total Col. $\bar{X}$	505 (33.6) 7.19	613 (40.7) 6.74	387 (25.7) 6.46	1505 (100) 6.85	.92

$\chi^2 = 46.535$ ,  $df = 20$ , significant  $< .001$ .

Table 8: Present Standing by Social Isolation

Present Standing	SOCIAL ISOLATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	1 (20.0)	8 (53.3)	4 (26.7)	15 (100)	1.07
1	1 (8.4)	7 (58.3)	4 (33.3)	12 (100)	1.25
2	1 (8.3)	5 (41.7)	6 (50.0)	12 (100)	1.42
3	9 (24.3)	18 (48.7)	10 (27.0)	37 (100)	1.03
4	18 (21.7)	36 (43.4)	29 (34.9)	83 (100)	1.13
5	62 (21.2)	167 (57.0)	64 (21.8)	293 (100)	1.01
6	37 (17.4)	119 (55.9)	57 (26.7)	213 (100)	1.09
7	52 (22.8)	121 (53.1)	55 (24.1)	228 (100)	1.01
8	78 (27.0)	161 (55.7)	50 (17.3)	289 (100)	.90
9	25 (23.4)	64 (59.8)	18 (16.8)	107 (100)	.93
(High) 10	75 (33.5)	114 (50.9)	35 (15.6)	224 (100)	.82
Total Col. $\bar{X}$	361 (23.9) 7.19	820 (54.2) 6.85	332 (21.9) 6.39	1513 (100) 6.83	.98

$\chi^2 = 44.4$ ,  $df = 20$ , significant  $< .01$ .

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry must be supported by proper documentation, such as receipts or invoices, to ensure the integrity of the financial data.

2. The second part outlines the procedures for reconciling bank statements with the company's internal records. This process involves comparing the bank's record of transactions with the company's ledger to identify any discrepancies and resolve them promptly.

3. The third part addresses the need for regular audits to detect and prevent fraud or errors. It suggests implementing a system of internal controls and assigning specific responsibilities to different departments to ensure a thorough and unbiased audit process.

4. The final part of the document provides guidelines for the storage and security of financial records. It recommends using secure, fireproof storage for physical documents and encrypted digital storage for electronic records to protect sensitive information from unauthorized access or loss.

5. The document also includes a section on the importance of staying up-to-date with changes in tax laws and regulations. It advises the company to consult with a professional tax advisor to ensure compliance with the latest requirements and to take advantage of any available tax incentives.

6. Additionally, it highlights the role of technology in streamlining financial operations. By utilizing accounting software and automated reporting tools, the company can reduce manual errors, improve efficiency, and gain valuable insights into its financial performance.

7. The document concludes by stressing the overall importance of a strong financial management system for the long-term success of the company. It encourages the implementation of the outlined practices to ensure transparency, accuracy, and control over the organization's finances.

Table 9: Present Standing by Normlessness

Present Standing	NORMLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	3 (20.0)	4 (26.7)	8 (53.3)	15 (100)	1.33
1	3 (25.0)	1 (8.3)	8 (66.7)	12 (100)	1.42
2	2 (16.7)	2 (16.7)	8 (66.6)	12 (100)	1.50
3	4 (11.1)	13 (36.1)	19 (52.8)	36 (100)	1.42
4	13 (15.9)	32 (39.0)	37 (45.1)	82 (100)	1.29
5	54 (18.6)	117 (40.2)	120 (41.2)	291 (100)	1.23
6	44 (20.7)	84 (39.4)	85 (39.9)	213 (100)	1.19
7	68 (30.0)	97 (42.7)	62 (27.3)	227 (100)	.97
8	78 (27.2)	114 (39.7)	95 (33.1)	287 (100)	1.06
9	25 (23.4)	51 (47.6)	31 (29.0)	107 (100)	1.06
(High) 10	62 (27.9)	72 (32.4)	88 (39.6)	222 (100)	1.12
Total	356 (27.9)	587 (39.0)	561 (37.3)	1504 (100)	1.14
Col. $\bar{X}$	7.16	6.87	6.58	6.83	

$\chi^2 = 48.02$ ,  $df = 20$ , significant .001.

PS means. All of these PS means are still above the middle of the ladder, however (i.e., five).

An inspection of the row means—the mean alienation for each level of PS—does not indicate a corresponding linearity, or at least the linearity is relatively rough. In the case of P, N and PN (Tables 7, 9 and 10, respectively), there is a general decrease to about PS value "7", and then a slight increase in row means for the values "8", "9" and "10". This indicates that those people who rate themselves highest on the PS ladder are also slightly more alienated than those in the middle—but still much less alienated than those who rate themselves below the rung "5" on the ladder. Of all the alienation sub-scales, SOI comes closest to indicating a very rough form of curvilinearity (Table 8). The row means in this case start fairly high, but

100

•

•

•

•

Table 10: Present Standing by Powerlessness-Normlessness

Present Standing	POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS					Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	(High) 4 N (%)		
(Low) 0	0 ( 0.0)	2 (13.3)	4 (26.7)	2 (13.3)	7 (46.7)	15 (100)	2.93
1	1 ( 8.3)	2 (16.7)	1 ( 8.3)	4 (33.3)	4 (33.3)	12 (100)	2.67
2	1 ( 8.3)	1 ( 8.3)	1 ( 8.3)	2 (16.6)	7 (58.3)	12 (100)	3.08
3	1 ( 2.8)	6 (16.7)	7 (19.4)	8 (22.2)	14 (38.9)	36 (100)	2.78
4	4 ( 4.9)	10 (12.2)	21 (25.6)	29 (35.4)	18 (22.0)	82 (100)	2.57
5	14 ( 4.8)	38 (13.1)	112 (38.5)	88 (30.2)	39 (13.4)	291 (100)	2.34
6	12 ( 5.7)	47 (22.2)	62 (29.3)	57 (26.9)	34 (16.0)	212 (100)	2.25
7	24 (10.7)	55 (24.4)	80 (35.6)	49 (21.8)	17 ( 7.6)	225 (100)	1.91
8	26 ( 9.1)	52 (18.2)	101 (35.3)	77 (26.9)	30 (10.5)	286 (100)	2.12
9	10 ( 9.3)	25 (23.4)	30 (28.0)	30 (28.0)	12 (11.2)	107 (100)	2.08
(High)10	22 (10.0)	46 (21.0)	71 (32.4)	47 (21.5)	33 (15.1)	219 (100)	2.11
Total	115	284	490	393	215	1497	2.21
Col. $\bar{X}$	7.39	7.11	6.91	6.69	6.18	6.82	

$\chi^2 = 110.964$ ,  $df = 40$ ,  $.001 > p$ .

increase until the third rung of the ladder (value 2), and then decrease fairly constantly until PS value 10. This curve does not exhibit the slight increase for the last three values of PS as the other tables did, which leads a slight curvilinearity to the regression of SOI means for each level of PS. This may be evidence for the separation of SOI from other forms of alienation. In any case, it would seem to be clear that alienation is a relatively close correlate of one's perception of where he stands in terms of achieving a best or worst possible life. And, if it is, we would expect that PS will be related to our independent variables in much the same way as alienation.

Tables 11, 12, 13 and 14 detail the relationship of Future Orientation to the various sub-scales of alienation. Future Orientation (FO), as stated in the last chapter, is a measure of the discrepancy between PS and one's estimation of where he will stand on the ladder five years in the future—again between the best and worst possible lives imaginable. Those persons whose future is within one or two steps of their present were designated as "Status Quo" oriented; those whose future was higher were designated "Optimistic", and those with the future lower than their present were designated "Pessimistic". In order to obtain mean FO scores, these three categories were arbitrarily assigned the follow weights:

"Pessimistic" = 0, "Status Quo" = 1, "Optimistic" = 2.

Chi squares for all tables were significant at the .025 level or less. What is surprising, however, is that the row means (mean alienation for each FO category) are not linear, i.e.,

Table 11: Future Orientation by Powerlessness

Future Orientation	POWERLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
Pessimistic (0)	33(31.1)	43(40.6)	30(28.3)	106(100)	.97
Status Quo (1)	231(38.8)	228(38.2)	137(23.0)	596(100)	.84
Optimistic (2)	229(30.0)	326(42.7)	209(27.3)	764(100)	.97
Total Col. $\bar{X}$	493(33.6) 1.40	597(40.7) 1.47	376(25.7) 1.48	1466(100) 1.45	.92

$$\chi^2 = 12.304, df = 4, .025 > p > .01.$$

Table 12: Future Orientation by Social Isolation

Future Orientation	SOCIAL ISOLATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
Pessimistic (0)	21(19.8)	62(58.5)	23(21.7)	106(100)	1.02
Status Quo (1)	173(28.7)	326(54.2)	103(17.1)	602(100)	.88
Optimistic (2)	159(20.8)	406(53.0)	201(26.2)	766(100)	1.05
Total Col. $\bar{X}$	353(23.9) 1.39	794(53.9) 1.43	327(22.2) 1.54	1474(100) 1.45	.98

$$\chi^2 = 23.0, df = 4, p > .001.$$

Table 13: Future Orientation by Normlessness

Future Orientation	NORMLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
Pessimistic (0)	17(16.0)	39(36.8)	50(47.2)	106(100)	1.31
Status Quo (1)	166(27.9)	222(37.2)	208(34.9)	596(100)	1.07
Optimistic (2)	169(22.1)	312(40.8)	283(37.1)	764(100)	1.15
Total Col. $\bar{X}$	352(24.0) 1.43	573(39.1) 1.48	541(36.9) 1.43	1466(100) 1.45	1.13

$$\chi^2 = 12.54, df = 4, .025 > p > .01.$$

Table 14: Future Orientation by Powerlessness-Normlessness

Future Orientation	POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS						Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	(High) 4 N (%)			
Pessimistic (0)	5 ( 4.7)	18 (17.0)	32 (30.2)	35 (33.0)	16 (15.1)		106 (100)	2.37
Status Quo (1)	59 (10.0)	127 (21.5)	181 (30.6)	147 (24.9)	77 (13.0)		591 (100)	2.09
Optimistic (2)	50 ( 6.6)	130 (17.1)	267 (35.0)	199 (26.1)	116 (15.2)		762 (100)	2.26
Total	114 ( 7.8)	275 (18.9)	480 (32.9)	381 (26.1)	209 (14.3)		1459 (100)	2.20
Col. $\bar{X}$	1.39	1.41	1.49	1.43	1.48		1.45	

$\chi^2 = 15.7, df = 8, > .005 > p > .001.$





the "Optimistic" are not less alienated than the "Pessimistic", one would implicitly assume. Rather, the "Status Quo" category in each and every case is the least alienated, with the "Optimistic" and "Pessimistic" FO categories having approximately equally alienation means. Inspection of the column means (mean FO for each level of alienation) adds little to the general interpretability of the tables.

To some degree, the Durkheim-Merton rationale may be operating here. That is, those persons who perceive a change in the future—which may cast doubt on the efficacy of the normative system—develop alienation, whereas those who perceive an amount of stability in the future do not develop alienation. In this sense, FO is similar to SM, in that the "Stable" or "Status Quo" group may be the least alienated, at least hypothetically. This finding may also, however, be spurious and a statistical artifact of our measurement device. In order to be either "Pessimistic" or "Optimistic", a person must have a score between two and eight, i.e., for "Optimism", a person could score no higher than eight on the PS ladder, in order for him to have statistical "room" to increase. And, this is a lower score when compared to persons in the nine and ten ladder ranks, which in turn would give him a comparatively higher alienation score. Approximately the same dynamic can work for the "Pessimistic" persons. Further, we must note that the majority of persons in the FO tables scored in the "Optimistic" category. Therefore, in order to have a resolute test of this, we should control for PS in examining the relationship of FO to

alienation.<sup>1</sup>

In any case, it is clear that PS may be an integral part of alienation, but that FO is not; or at least FO is partially independent, and may be related to our independent variables in different ways than alienation. It does form a definite measure of future orientation. For these reasons, then, we would suggest keeping FO in our analysis.

### First Order Relationships

#### Relationship of Average Status to Dependent Variables

In this section, we shall examine the relationships of Average Status to the dependent variables, which are listed in Tables 15-20. In these tables, AS is presented in its full ten-value range, in order to give us as full an insight as possible. In the later control tables, AS will be reduced to a five-value range.

An inspection of Tables 15, 17 and 18 reveals that Average Status is significantly related to P, N, and their combination, PN, with all chi squares having a probability of .001 or less. This relationship is generally linear, and inverse, with each higher AS level having a lower mean alienation than lower AS levels. The only exception to this general finding occurs in the ninth AS level (8), where the mean alienation is somewhat above the inferred regression line.

Social Isolation, on the other hand, is not significantly related to AS, although the relationship is in the predicted direction, i.e., inverse. Again, this is an independent vali-

Table 15: Average Status by Powerlessness

Average Status	POWERLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	21(14.6)	41(28.5)	82(56.9)	144(100)	1.42
1	42(29.2)	54(37.5)	48(33.3)	144(100)	1.04
2	37(25.5)	72(49.7)	36(24.8)	145(100)	.99
3	46(28.6)	69(42.8)	46(28.6)	161(100)	1.00
4	41(27.7)	72(48.6)	35(23.7)	148(100)	.96
5	59(35.3)	72(43.1)	36(21.6)	167(100)	.86
6	65(37.4)	70(40.2)	39(22.4)	174(100)	.85
7	78(49.4)	53(33.5)	27(17.1)	158(100)	.68
8	47(34.6)	61(44.8)	28(20.6)	136(100)	.86
(High) 9	70(51.8)	53(39.3)	12( 8.9)	135(100)	.57
Total	506(33.5)	617(40.8)	389(25.7)	1512(100)	.92

$$\chi^2 = 143.22, df = 18, p < .001.$$

Table 16: Average Status by Social Isolation

Average Status	SOCIAL ISOLATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	15(10.3)	88(60.3)	43(29.4)	146(100)	1.19
1	31(21.5)	83(57.7)	30(20.8)	144(100)	.99
2	32(21.9)	86(58.9)	28(19.2)	146(100)	.97
3	35(21.5)	91(55.8)	37(22.7)	163(100)	1.01
4	41(27.5)	75(50.3)	33(22.2)	149(100)	.95
5	43(25.7)	89(53.3)	35(21.0)	167(100)	.95
6	44(25.1)	92(52.6)	39(22.3)	175(100)	.97
7	49(31.0)	75(47.5)	34(21.5)	158(100)	.91
8	39(28.5)	73(53.3)	25(18.2)	137(100)	.90
(High) 9	35(25.9)	73(54.1)	27(20.0)	135(100)	.94
Total	364(23.9)	825(54.3)	331(21.8)	1520(100)	.98

$$\chi^2 = 27.66, df = 18, p .17 \quad p > .05.$$

Table 17: Average Status by Normlessness

Average Status	NORMLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	7(4.9)	40(28.2)	95(66.9)	142(100)	1.62
1	18(12.7)	50(35.2)	74(52.1)	142(100)	1.39
2	23(15.9)	48(33.1)	74(51.0)	145(100)	1.35
3	35(21.5)	64(39.3)	64(39.2)	163(100)	1.18
4	31(21.1)	56(38.1)	60(40.8)	147(100)	1.20
5	42(25.2)	75(44.9)	50(29.9)	167(100)	1.05
6	63(36.0)	62(35.4)	50(28.6)	175(100)	.93
7	54(34.2)	68(43.0)	36(22.8)	158(100)	.89
8	40(29.2)	60(43.8)	37(27.0)	137(100)	.98
(High) 9	43(31.9)	64(47.4)	28(20.7)	135(100)	.89
Total	356(23.6)	587(38.8)	568(37.6)	1511(100)	1.14

$$\chi^2 = 147.35, df = 18, p < .001.$$

dation of our scaling efforts and further indication that Social Isolation is a somewhat separate and independent area of content, at least with respect to alienation and stratification.

Finding a relationship between our version of the alienation scales, and Average Status lends further weight to the contention that we are measuring the same area of content that has been measured in other studies of alienation. That is, many studies cited in Chapter I reported relationships between status or class, and alienation, although the operationalizations were in many cases somewhat different than ours. Thus, our current finding validates these scales, and therefore makes this current study more or less in direct line with the previously cited studies. And, if our theory (which is to some degree based upon these studies) holds up, then our versions of alienation should be related to Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the integrity of the financial system and for the ability to detect and prevent fraud.

2. The second part of the document outlines the specific requirements for record-keeping. It states that all transactions must be recorded in a clear and concise manner, and that the records must be maintained for a minimum of five years.

3. The third part of the document discusses the role of the auditor in verifying the accuracy of the records. It states that the auditor must conduct a thorough review of the records and must report any discrepancies to the appropriate authorities.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the consequences of failing to maintain accurate records. It states that individuals who fail to comply with the requirements may be subject to fines and penalties.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of training and education for individuals involved in record-keeping. It states that individuals must be properly trained and educated in order to ensure the accuracy of the records.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the importance of internal controls in preventing fraud. It states that individuals must implement and maintain effective internal controls to minimize the risk of fraud.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the importance of transparency and accountability in the financial system. It states that individuals must be held accountable for their actions and that the system must be transparent to the public.

8. The eighth part of the document discusses the importance of ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the system. It states that the system must be regularly monitored and evaluated to ensure its effectiveness and to identify areas for improvement.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the importance of collaboration and communication between individuals and organizations. It states that individuals must work together to ensure the integrity of the financial system and to prevent fraud.

10. The tenth part of the document discusses the importance of public participation in the financial system. It states that the public must be encouraged to participate in the system and to provide input on its operation.

Table 18: Average Status by Powerlessness--Normlessness

Average Status	POWERLESSNESS--NORMLESSNESS					Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	(High) 4 N (%)		
(Low) 0	2 ( 1.4)	9 ( 6.4)	26 (18.4)	52 (36.9)	52 (36.9)	141 (100)	3.01
1	5 ( 3.5)	17 (11.9)	43 (30.3)	39 (27.5)	38 (26.8)	142 (100)	2.62
2	8 ( 5.5)	25 (17.4)	41 (28.5)	41 (28.5)	29 (20.1)	144 (100)	2.40
3	14 ( 8.7)	25 (15.5)	49 (30.4)	49 (30.4)	24 (14.9)	161 (100)	2.27
4	12 ( 8.2)	20 (13.7)	48 (32.9)	44 (30.1)	22 (15.1)	146 (100)	2.30
5	11 ( 6.6)	38 (22.7)	59 (35.3)	41 (24.6)	18 (10.8)	167 (100)	2.10
6	21 (12.1)	33 (19.0)	64 (36.8)	45 (25.8)	11 ( 6.3)	174 (100)	1.95
7	17 (10.7)	45 (28.5)	59 (37.3)	26 (16.5)	11 ( 7.0)	158 (100)	1.80
8	11 ( 8.1)	36 (26.5)	47 (34.5)	34 (25.0)	8 ( 5.9)	136 (100)	1.94
(High) 9	13 ( 9.6)	36 (26.7)	58 (42.9)	26 (19.3)	2 ( 1.5)	135 (100)	1.76
Total	114 ( 7.6)	284 (18.9)	494 (32.8)	397 (26.4)	215 (14.3)	1504 (100)	2.21

$\chi^2 = 195.195$ ,  $df = 36$ ,  $p < .001$ .

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000	1001	1002	1003	1004	1005	1006	1007	1008	1009	1010	1011	1012	1013	1014	1015	1016	1017	1018	1019	1020	1021	1022	1023	1024	1025	1026	1027	1028	1029	1030	1031	1032	1033	1034	1035	1036	1037	1038	1039	1040	1041	1042	1043	1044	1045	1046	1047	1048	1049	1050	1051	1052	1053	1054	1055	1056	1057	1058	1059	1060	1061	1062	1063	1064	1065	1066	1067	1068	1069	1070	1071	1072	1073	1074	1075	1076	1077	1078	1079	1080	1081	1082	1083	1084	1085	1086	1087	1088	1089	1090	1091	1092	1093	1094	1095	1096	1097	1098	1099	1100	1101	1102	1103	1104	1105	1106	1107	1108	1109	1110	1111	1112	1113	1114	1115	1116	1117	1118	1119	1120	1121	1122	1123	1124	1125	1126	1127	1128	1129	1130	1131	1132	1133	1134	1135	1136	1137	1138	1139	1140	1141	1142	1143	1144	1145	1146	1147	1148	1149	1150	1151	1152	1153	1154	1155	1156	1157	1158	1159	1160	1161	1162	1163	1164	1165	1166	1167	1168	1169	1170	1171	1172	1173	1174	1175	1176	1177	1178	1179	1180	1181	1182	1183	1184	1185	1186	1187	1188	1189	1190	1191	1192	1193	1194	1195	1196	1197	1198	1199	1200	1201	1202	1203	1204	1205	1206	1207	1208	1209	1210	1211	1212	1213	1214	1215	1216	1217	1218	1219	1220	1221	1222	1223	1224	1225	1226	1227	1228	1229	1230	1231	1232	1233	1234	1235	1236	1237	1238	1239	1240	1241	1242	1243	1244	1245	1246	1247	1248	1249	1250	1251	1252	1253	1254	1255	1256	1257	1258	1259	1260	1261	1262	1263	1264	1265	1266	1267	1268	1269	1270	1271	1272	1273	1274	1275	1276	1277	1278	1279	1280	1281	1282	1283	1284	1285	1286	1287	1288	1289	1290	1291	1292	1293	1294	1295	1296	1297	1298	1299	1300	1301	1302	1303	1304	1305	1306	1307	1308	1309	1310	1311	1312	1313	1314	1315	1316	1317	1318	1319	1320	1321	1322	1323	1324	1325	1326	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377	1378	1379	1380	1381	1382	1383	1384	1385	1386	1387	1388	1389	1390	1391	1392	1393	1394	1395	1396	1397	1398	1399	1400	1401	1402	1403	1404	1405	1406	1407	1408	1409	1410	1411	1412	1413	1414	1415	1416	1417	1418	1419	1420	1421	1422	1423	1424	1425	1426	1427	1428	1429	1430	1431	1432	1433	1434	1435	1436	1437	1438	1439	1440	1441	1442	1443	1444	1445	1446	1447	1448	1449	1450	1451	1452	1453	1454	1455	1456	1457	1458	1459	1460	1461	1462	1463	1464	1465	1466	1467	1468	1469	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479	1480	1481	1482	1483	1484	1485	1486	1487	1488	1489	1490	1491	1492	1493	1494	1495	1
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	---



Table 19 documents a significant relationship between AS and PS (the chi square has a probability of .001 or less) with the higher AS levels having generally higher PS means. The relationship is not, however, perfectly linear. In fact, the lowest PS mean occurs not at the lowest AS level, but at the third level (value 2). It might also be noted that this is the level at which Status Inconsistency reaches a peak (Table 1). Perhaps this is an indication that SI is affecting the PS means. In any case, there is general validation of the notion that one's perception of his present situation is—like alienation—affected by his Average Status.

Table 20 documents a weak but significant linear relationship between AS and FO, with the lower AS levels tending to have slightly less persons in the "Optimistic" category than the higher AS levels. That is, persons at the higher AS levels tend to have a more optimistic outlook than do others. Given this relationship, we must now ask what the relationship of FO is to alienation (remembering that FO and alienation are not related). It may be that all (FO, PS, etc.) are separate facets of an AS alienation, which is not independent of AS.

#### Relationship of Status Inconsistency to Dependent Variables

In this section, we shall examine the relationship of Status Inconsistency to the dependent variables of alienation, PS and FO. These are contained in Tables 21-26. We reiterate that this section does not constitute a test of our hypotheses per se, but forms a background against which to cast other tables

Table 19: Average Status by Present Standing

Average Status	PRESENT STANDING					
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	4 N (%)	5 N (%)
(Low) 0	1 ( .7)	4 ( 2.7)	3 ( 2.1)	7 ( 4.8)	17 (11.6)	25 (17.1)
1	3 (2.1)	4 ( 2.8)	3 ( 2.1)	7 ( 4.9)	10 ( 7.0)	28 (19.7)
2	4 (2.8)	1 ( .7)	1 ( .7)	6 ( 4.2)	12 ( 8.3)	33 (22.9)
3	4 (2.5)	1 ( .6)	1 ( .6)	4 ( 2.5)	11 ( 6.8)	40 (24.7)
4	1 ( .7)	1 ( .7)	0 ( .0)	6 ( 4.1)	8 ( 5.4)	33 (22.4)
5	1 ( .6)	0 ( .0)	0 ( .0)	2 ( 1.2)	7 ( 4.2)	43 (25.7)
6	1 ( .6)	0 ( .0)	1 ( .6)	3 ( 1.7)	6 ( 3.4)	30 (17.1)
7	0 ( .0)	0 ( .0)	0 ( .0)	0 ( .0)	4 ( 2.5)	24 (15.3)
8	0 ( .0)	1 ( .8)	1 ( .8)	0 ( .0)	3 ( 2.2)	27 (20.0)
(High) 9	0 ( .0)	0 ( .0)	2 ( 1.5)	2 ( 1.5)	4 ( 2.9)	11 ( 8.2)
Total	15 (1.0)	12 ( .8)	12 ( .8)	37 ( 2.4)	82 ( 5.4)	294 (19.5)

(continued)

$\chi^2 = 185.142$ ,  $df = 90$ ,  $p < .001$ .



Table 19: Average Status by Present Standing (Continued)

Average Status	PRESENT STANDING					Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	6 N (%)	7 N (%)	8 N (%)	9 N (%)	(High) 10 N (%)		
(Low) 0	18 (12.3)	7 ( 4.8)	28 (19.2)	6 ( 4.1)	30 (20.6)	146(100)	6.57
1	19 (13.4)	12 ( 8.5)	22 (15.5)	12 ( 8.5)	22 (15.5)	142(100)	6.43
2	20 (13.9)	18 (12.5)	22 (15.2)	7 ( 4.8)	20 (13.9)	144(100)	6.38
3	24 (14.8)	19 (11.7)	21 (13.0)	8 ( 4.9)	29 (17.9)	152(100)	6.58
4	16 (10.9)	17 (11.6)	24 (16.3)	16 (10.9)	25 (17.0)	147(100)	6.92
5	28 (16.8)	25 (15.0)	33 (19.7)	10 ( 6.0)	18 (10.8)	167(100)	6.74
6	29 (16.6)	28 (16.0)	33 (18.8)	15 ( 8.6)	29 (16.6)	175(100)	7.11
7	24 (15.3)	36 (22.9)	34 (21.7)	14 ( 8.9)	21 (13.4)	157(100)	7.26
8	18 (13.3)	30 (22.2)	31 (22.9)	11 ( 8.2)	13 ( 9.6)	135(100)	7.00
(High) 9	17 (12.6)	37 (27.4)	39 (28.9)	8 ( 5.9)	15 (11.1)	135(100)	7.23
Total	213 (14.1)	229 (15.2)	287 (19.0)	107 ( 8.0)	222 (14.8)	1510(100)	6.82

• • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

• • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

• • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

• • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

• • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

• • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

→ • • • • •

Table 20: Average Status by Future Orientation

Average Status	FUTURE ORIENTATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	Pessimistic (0)	Status Quo (1)	Optimistic (2)		
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		
(Low) 0	15 (10.7)	56 (40.0)	69 (49.3)	140 (100)	1.39
1	16 (11.8)	61 (44.8)	59 (43.4)	136 (100)	1.32
2	13 (9.5)	59 (43.1)	65 (47.4)	137 (100)	1.38
3	12 (7.6)	73 (46.2)	73 (46.2)	158 (100)	1.39
4	9 (6.2)	73 (50.0)	64 (43.8)	146 (100)	1.38
5	9 (5.6)	64 (39.7)	88 (54.7)	161 (100)	1.49
6	10 (5.8)	65 (37.8)	97 (56.4)	172 (100)	1.51
7	9 (5.8)	58 (37.2)	89 (57.0)	156 (100)	1.51
8	6 (4.6)	47 (35.6)	79 (59.8)	132 (100)	1.55
(High) 9	7 (5.3)	44 (33.1)	82 (61.6)	133 (100)	1.56
Total	106 (7.2)	600 (40.8)	765 (52.0)	1471 (100)	1.45
Col. $\bar{X}$	3.71	4.30	4.81		

$$\chi^2 = 30.84, df = 18, .05 > p > .01.$$

Table 21: Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness

Status Inconsis.	POWERLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0	1	(High) 2		
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		
(Low) 0	53 (36.0)	51 (34.7)	43 (29.3)	147 (100)	.93
1	61 (38.9)	66 (42.0)	30 (19.1)	157 (100)	.80
2	39 (29.5)	46 (34.9)	47 (35.6)	132 (100)	1.06
3	56 (36.8)	62 (40.8)	34 (22.4)	152 (100)	.86
4	37 (25.1)	70 (47.6)	40 (27.2)	147 (100)	1.02
5	54 (34.4)	62 (39.5)	41 (26.1)	157 (100)	.92
6	54 (39.4)	52 (38.0)	31 (22.6)	137 (100)	.83
7	50 (29.1)	75 (43.6)	47 (27.3)	172 (100)	.98
8	43 (26.4)	74 (45.4)	46 (28.2)	163 (100)	1.02
(High) 9	59 (39.9)	59 (39.9)	30 (20.2)	148 (100)	.80
Total	506 (33.5)	617 (40.8)	389 (25.7)	1512 (100)	.92

$$\chi^2 = 30.3, df = 18, .05 > p > .025.$$

[illegible]

Table 22: Status Inconsistency by Social Isolation

Status Inconsis.	SOCIAL ISOLATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	37 (25.0)	79 (53.4)	32 (21.6)	148 (100)	.97
1	37 (23.6)	81 (51.6)	39 (24.8)	157 (100)	1.01
2	30 (22.6)	71 (53.4)	32 (24.0)	133 (100)	1.02
3	34 (22.1)	89 (57.8)	31 (20.1)	154 (100)	.98
4	37 (25.0)	74 (50.0)	37 (25.0)	148 (100)	1.00
5	41 (25.9)	75 (47.5)	42 (26.6)	158 (100)	1.01
6	32 (23.2)	76 (55.1)	30 (21.7)	138 (100)	.99
7	32 (18.5)	104 (60.1)	37 (21.4)	173 (100)	1.03
8	44 (27.0)	94 (57.7)	25 (15.3)	163 (100)	.88
(High) 9	40 (27.0)	82 (55.4)	26 (17.6)	148 (100)	.91
Total	364 (23.9)	825 (54.3)	331 (21.8)	1520 (100)	.98

$$\chi^2 = 15.96, df = 18, .75 > p > .50.$$

Table 23: Status Inconsistency by Normlessness

Status Inconsis.	NORMLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	34 (23.1)	64 (43.6)	49 (33.3)	147 (100)	1.10
1	51 (32.7)	55 (35.3)	50 (32.0)	156 (100)	.99
2	34 (26.2)	44 (33.8)	52 (40.0)	130 (100)	1.14
3	28 (18.6)	68 (45.0)	55 (36.4)	151 (100)	1.18
4	27 (18.2)	62 (41.9)	59 (39.9)	148 (100)	1.22
5	49 (31.0)	56 (35.5)	53 (33.5)	158 (100)	1.03
6	36 (26.1)	56 (40.6)	46 (33.3)	138 (100)	1.07
7	31 (17.9)	68 (39.3)	74 (42.8)	173 (100)	1.25
8	32 (19.8)	61 (37.6)	69 (42.6)	162 (100)	1.23
(High) 9	34 (23.0)	53 (35.8)	61 (41.2)	148 (100)	1.18
Total	356 (23.6)	587 (38.8)	568 (37.6)	1511 (100)	1.14

$$\chi^2 = 28.4, df = 18, .1 > p > .05.$$





Table 24: Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness-Normlessness

Status Inconsis.	POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS					Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	(High) 4 N (%)		
(Low) 0	14 ( 9.6)	26 (17.8)	48 (32.9)	35 (24.0)	23 (15.7)	146(100)	2.18
1	19 (12.2)	34 (21.8)	52 (33.3)	32 (20.5)	19 (12.2)	156(100)	1.99
2	5 ( 3.9)	29 (22.5)	38 (29.5)	39 (30.2)	18 (13.9)	129(100)	2.28
3	8 ( 5.3)	27 (18.0)	49 (32.7)	53 (35.3)	13 ( 8.7)	150(100)	2.24
4	9 ( 6.1)	17 (11.6)	50 (34.0)	48 (32.7)	23 (15.6)	147(100)	2.40
5	14 ( 8.9)	35 (22.3)	50 (31.8)	37 (23.6)	21 (13.4)	157(100)	2.10
6	12 ( 8.8)	28 (20.4)	51 (37.2)	32 (23.4)	14 (10.2)	137(100)	2.06
7	10 ( 5.8)	32 (18.6)	58 (33.7)	45 (26.2)	27 (15.7)	172(100)	2.27
8	8 ( 4.9)	28 (17.3)	53 (32.7)	39 (24.1)	34 (21.0)	162(100)	2.39
(High) 9	15 (10.2)	28 (18.9)	45 (30.4)	37 (25.0)	23 (15.5)	148(100)	2.17
Total	114 ( 7.6)	284 (18.9)	494 (32.8)	397 (26.4)	215 (14.3)	1504(100)	2.21

 $\chi^2 = 44.52, df = 36, .75 > p > .50.$

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

• • • • •

Table 25: Status Inconsistency by Present Standing

Status Inconsis.	PRESENT STANDING									
	(Low) N (%)	0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	4 N (%)	5 N (%)			
(Low) 0	0 ( 9.0)	1 ( 0.7)	2 ( 1.4)	3 ( 2.0)	11 ( 7.5)	29 (19.9)				
1	1 ( 0.6)	2 ( 1.3)	1 ( 0.6)	5 ( 3.2)	4 ( 2.5)	18 (11.5)				
2	9 ( 0.0)	3 ( 2.3)	3 ( 2.3)	4 ( 3.0)	7 ( 5.3)	29 (21.8)				
3	1 ( 0.6)	1 ( 0.7)	1 ( 0.7)	4 ( 2.6)	6 ( 3.9)	34 (22.1)				
4	1 ( 0.7)	1 ( 0.7)	0 ( 0.0)	3 ( 2.0)	13 ( 8.8)	29 (19.6)				
5	1 ( 0.6)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	4 ( 2.6)	6 ( 3.9)	38 (24.4)				
6	3 ( 2.2)	1 ( 0.7)	2 ( 1.5)	1 ( 0.7)	10 ( 7.3)	27 (19.7)				
7	3 ( 1.7)	2 ( 1.2)	0 ( 0.0)	5 ( 2.9)	7 ( 4.1)	25 (14.5)				
8	3 ( 1.9)	1 ( 0.6)	3 ( 1.9)	6 ( 3.8)	7 ( 4.4)	37 (23.1)				
(High) 9	2 ( 1.4)	0 ( 0.0)	0 ( 0.0)	2 ( 1.4)	11 ( 7.5)	28 (19.0)				
Total	15 ( 1.0)	12 ( 0.8)	12 ( 0.8)	37 ( 2.4)	82 ( 5.4)	294 (19.5)				

$\chi^2 = 86.68, df = 90, .90 > p > .75.$  (cont'd)

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Table 25: Status Inconsistency by Present Standing (continued)

Status Inconsis.	PRESENT STANDING						Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	6 N (%)	7 N (%)	8 N (%)	9 N (%)	(High) N (%)	10 N (%)		
(Low) 0	17 (11.6)	28 (19.2)	29 (19.9)	9 ( 6.2)	17 (11.6)	146(100)	6.70	
1	23 (14.6)	24 (15.3)	44 (28.0)	10 ( 6.4)	25 (15.9)	157(100)	7.10	
2	18 (13.5)	20 (15.0)	25 (18.8)	7 ( 5.3)	17 (12.8)	133(100)	6.60	
3	22 (14.3)	22 (14.3)	30 (19.5)	9 ( 5.8)	24 (15.5)	154(100)	6.90	
4	25 (16.9)	20 (13.5)	25 (16.9)	12 ( 8.1)	19 (12.8)	148(100)	6.70	
5	20 (12.8)	24 (15.4)	29 (18.6)	11 ( 7.0)	23 (14.7)	156(100)	6.90	
6	25 (18.3)	13 ( 9.5)	29 (21.2)	8 ( 5.8)	18 (13.1)	137(100)	6.60	
7	28 (16.3)	31 (18.0)	34 (19.8)	11 ( 6.4)	26 (15.1)	172(100)	6.90	
8	17 (10.6)	22 (13.7)	23 (14.4)	15 ( 9.4)	26 (16.2)	160(100)	6.70	
(High) 9	18 (12.2)	25 (17.0)	19 (12.9)	15 (10.2)	27 (18.4)	147(100)	7.00	
Total	213 (14.1)	229 (15.2)	287 (19.0)	107 ( 7.1)	222 (14.7)	1510(100)	6.82	

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Table 26: Status Inconsistency by Future Orientation

Status Inconsis.	FUTURE ORIENTATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	Pessimistic (0)	Status Quo (1)	Optimistic (2)		
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		
(Low) 0	12 ( 8.6)	50 (36.0)	77 (55.4)	139(100)	1.47
1	13 ( 8.4)	67 (43.5)	74 (48.1)	154(100)	1.40
2	6 ( 4.6)	48 (36.9)	76 (58.5)	130(100)	1.45
3	9 ( 6.0)	65 (43.3)	76 (50.7)	150(100)	1.45
4	10 ( 6.8)	55 (37.7)	81 (55.5)	146(100)	1.49
5	9 ( 5.8)	63 (40.9)	82 (53.3)	154(100)	1.47
6	8 ( 5.9)	51 (37.8)	76 (56.3)	135(100)	1.50
7	14 ( 8.3)	66 (39.3)	88 (52.4)	168(100)	1.44
8	15 ( 9.7)	77 (49.7)	63 (40.6)	155(100)	1.31
(High) 9	10 ( 7.2)	58 (41.4)	72 (51.4)	140(100)	1.44
Total	106 ( 7.2)	600 (40.8)	765 (42.0)	1471(100)	1.45

$$\chi^2 = 16.70, df = 18, .75 > p > .50.$$

utilizing controls. As background, then, we shall use the full ten-value range of Status Inconsistency in examining these relationships.

Only one of these tables contains a statistically significant relationship (Table 21), and none contain a patterning of relationships which would allow any theoretical interpretation. There are few differences in the row means as one inspects the various levels of SI. Generally, it would appear that SI has little effect upon alienation. We would argue, however, that this is due to the confounding effect of Average Status, and that in the tables relating SI to alienation, while controlling for the effect of AS, a significant relationship will obtain.

#### Relationship of Social Mobility to Dependent Variables

Tables 27-32 detail the relationship of Social Mobility to alienation, and to Present Standing and Future Orientation. An



Table 27: Social Mobility by Powerlessness

Social Mobility	POWERLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
Down	52 (43.0)	48 (39.7)	21 (17.3)	121 (100)	.74
Stable	294 (30.9)	392 (41.2)	266 (27.9)	952 (100)	.97
Up	127 (38.6)	132 (40.1)	70 (21.3)	329 (100)	.83
Total	473 (33.7)	573 (40.8)	357 (25.5)	1402 (100)	.92

$\chi^2 = 6.08$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $.25 > p > .10$ .

Table 28: Social Mobility by Social Isolation

Social Mobility	SOCIAL ISOLATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
Down	28 (23.0)	73 (59.8)	21 (17.2)	122 (100)	.94
Stable	226 (23.6)	523 (54.6)	209 (21.8)	958 (100)	.98
Up	91 (27.7)	160 (48.6)	78 (23.7)	329 (100)	.96
Total	345 (24.5)	756 (53.7)	308 (21.8)	1409 (100)	.97

$\chi^2 = 6.08$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $.25 > p > .10$ .

Table 29: Social Mobility by Normlessness

Social Mobility	NORMLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
Down	29 (24.0)	54 (44.6)	38 (31.4)	121 (100)	1.07
Stable	205 (21.5)	366 (38.4)	382 (40.1)	953 (100)	1.19
Up	101 (30.7)	127 (38.6)	101 (30.7)	329 (100)	1.00
Total	335 (23.9)	547 (39.0)	521 (37.1)	1403 (100)	1.13

$\chi^2 = 16.7$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $.005 > p > .001$ .

Table 30: Social Mobility by Powerlessness-Normlessness

Social Mobility	POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS						Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	(High) 4 N (%)			
Down	11 ( 9.2)	28 (23.4)	40 (33.3)	28 (23.3)	13 (10.8)	120 (100)	2.03	
Stable	60 ( 6.3)	171 (18.1)	320 (33.8)	241 (25.4)	155 (16.4)	947 (100)	2.27	
Up	32 ( 9.7)	72 (21.9)	102 (31.0)	98 (29.8)	25 ( 7.6)	329 (100)	2.04	
Total	103 ( 7.4)	271 (19.4)	462 (33.1)	367 (26.3)	193 (13.8)	1396 (100)	2.20	

$\chi^2 = 24.45, df = 8, .005 > p > .001.$

Table 31: Social Mobility by Present Standing

Social Mobility	(Low)		PRESENT STANDING										(High)		Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	4 N (%)	5 N (%)	6 N (%)	7 N (%)	8 N (%)	9 N (%)	10 N (%)	11 N (%)	12 N (%)	13 N (%)		
Down	2 (1.7)	1 (0.8)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.6)	1 (0.8)	31 (25.6)	17 (14.1)	22 (18.2)	19 (15.7)	12 (9.9)	14 (11.6)				121 (100)	6.70
Stable	10 (1.1)	9 (1.0)	8 (0.8)	22 (2.3)	57 (6.0)	188 (19.8)	139 (14.6)	139 (14.6)	178 (18.7)	58 (6.1)	142 (15.0)				950 (100)	6.77
Up	1 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.6)	9 (2.7)	11 (3.4)	59 (17.9)	47 (14.3)	57 (17.3)	65 (19.8)	31 (9.4)	46 (14.0)				329 (100)	7.02
Total	13 (0.9)	11 (0.8)	10 (0.7)	33 (2.4)	69 (4.9)	278 (19.9)	203 (14.5)	218 (15.6)	262 (18.7)	101 (7.2)	202 (14.4)				1400 (100)	6.83

$\chi^2 = 24.3$ ,  $df = 20$ ,  $.50 > p > .25$ .



Table 32: Social Mobility by Future Orientation

Social Mobility	FUTURE ORIENTATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
	(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
Down	9 (7.4)	62 (51.3)	50 (41.3)	121 (100)	1.34
Stable	71 (7.7)	369 (39.9)	485 (52.4)	925 (100)	1.45
Up	19 (6.0)	127 (39.9)	172 (54.1)	318 (100)	1.48
Total	99 (7.3)	558 (40.9)	707 (51.8)	1364 (100)	1.45

$$\chi^2 = 7.37, df = 4, .05 > p > .10.$$

inspection of these tables reveals that SM is significantly related to P (Table 27), N (Table 29) and to their combination PN (Table 30), but not to SOI (Table 28). Those statistics which are significant have probabilities of .005 or less.

In these three significant tables, it would appear that the "Stable" group is in all cases the most alienated, in that this group has the highest row means—or mean alienation. And, in all cases, there is less difference between the "Up" and "Down" groups than between the "Stables" and any other group. This finding partially supports those of Meier and Bell in that the "Up" SM group is less alienated than the "Stable" group. Our finding that the "Stable" group is the most alienated, however, contradicts Meier and Bell's findings.<sup>2</sup>

Another interpretation of this set of tables, though, is that Average Status is confounding the relationship of Social Mobility to alienation. That is, from Table 2 we note that the "Stable" group had the lowest AS, and the "Up" SM group has the highest status. These notions, coupled with the previous finding of a relationship between AS and alienation, may account for the



relationship of Social Mobility to alienation. If this is the case, then we should expect that this relationship will disappear when a control for AS is introduced into the relationship of SM and alienation.

We would also comment on the lack of a relationship between Social Isolation and Social Mobility. If this relationship is, in fact, confounded by AS, then we may be seeing again the lack of a relationship between AS and SOI.

Tables 31 and 32 illustrate the relationship between SM, and PS and FO (or better, the lack of a relationship because neither of these tables develops a significant chi square. With respect to Table 31, however, we might notice that the PS means for each category of SM do, in fact, correspond to the order which would have been predicted by referring to the AS mean for each SM group. That is, the "Stable" group has the lowest AS mean and the lowest PS mean; and the "Up" SM group has the highest AS mean and the highest PS mean. With respect to Table 32, however, this is not the case—the FO means do not follow the order that would have been predicted by referring to AS means.

In summary, it would appear that SM is related to alienation, but that this relationship may be accounted for by reference to the AS contamination of each level or category of SM. If this is in fact true, then these relationships would disappear when controlled for AS; if there is any true relationship of SM to alienation, then it should remain when the AS control is introduced.





## Second Order Controlled Relationships

Average Status Relationships

In this section, we shall examine the relationship of Average Status to alienation, etc., while controlling for Social Mobility and Status Inconsistency. In these controls, as well as the remaining controls in this chapter, the values of AS and SI are collapsed from the ten-value range presented in previous tables, to five- and three-value ranges, respectively. Again, this is done in order to keep the number of cells in the over-all tables within an interpretable range, and also to assure sufficient N in each cell to allow legitimate interpretation. Tables 33-38 describe the relationship of AS to the dependent variables while controlling for SM, and Tables 39-44 describe the relationship of AS to the dependent variables while controlling for SI.

Tables 33, 35 and 36 indicate that the original relationship of AS to P, N and PN is not disrupted by the control for SM. In each case, there is a generally inverse linear regression of alienation means (row means) on AS, for each level of SM. The only consistent exception to this pattern occurs in the "Up" control category, where at the second level of AS, the row mean is higher than one would expect—there is an increase in the mean rather than a decrease consistent with the general linear regression. We would take these patterns as confirming a relationship between AS and alienation.

Table 34 documents the lack of a relationship between AS and Social Isolation. This corresponds to the original finding in

Table 33: Average Status by Powerlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility

Social Mobility Control	Average Status	POWERLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
Down	(Lo) 0	4(30.8)	6(46.1)	3(23.1)	13(100)	.92
	1	12(40.0)	11(36.7)	7(23.3)	30(100)	.83
	2	14(42.4)	14(42.4)	5(15.2)	33(100)	.73
	3	17(50.0)	12(35.3)	5(14.7)	34(100)	.65
	(Hi) 4	5(45.5)	5(45.5)	1(9.1)	11(100)	.64
Stable	(Lo) 0	51(21.8)	76(32.5)	107(45.7)	234(100)	1.24
	1	60(27.4)	103(47.0)	56(25.6)	219(100)	.98
	2	61(32.6)	81(43.3)	45(24.1)	187(100)	.91
	3	67(38.1)	69(39.2)	40(22.7)	176(100)	.85
	(Hi) 4	55(40.4)	63(46.3)	18(13.3)	136(100)	.73
Up	(Lo) 0	3(27.3)	5(45.4)	3(27.3)	11(100)	1.00
	1	6(20.0)	14(46.7)	10(33.3)	30(100)	1.13
	2	19(27.5)	33(47.8)	17(24.7)	69(100)	.97
	3	48(45.3)	38(35.8)	20(18.9)	106(100)	.74
	(Hi) 4	51(45.1)	42(37.2)	20(17.7)	113(100)	.73

Table 34: Average Status by Social Isolation at Each Level of Social Mobility

Social Mobility Control	Average Status	SOCIAL ISOLATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
Down	(Lo) 0	3(23.1)	7(53.8)	3(23.1)	13(100)	1.00
	1	4(12.9)	21(67.7)	6(19.4)	31(100)	1.06
	2	10(30.3)	19(57.6)	4(12.1)	33(100)	.82
	3	8(25.5)	21(61.8)	5(14.7)	34(100)	.91
	(Hi) 4	3(27.3)	5(45.4)	3(27.3)	11(100)	1.00
Stable	(Lo) 0	36(15.2)	137(58.3)	62(26.4)	235(100)	1.11
	1	51(23.1)	122(55.2)	48(21.7)	221(100)	.99
	2	57(30.3)	91(48.4)	40(21.3)	188(100)	.91
	3	49(27.7)	92(52.0)	36(20.3)	177(100)	.93
	(Hi) 4	33(24.1)	81(59.1)	23(16.8)	137(100)	.93
Up	(Lo) 0	3(27.3)	6(54.5)	2(18.2)	11(100)	.91
	1	10(33.3)	16(53.3)	4(13.4)	30(100)	.80
	2	12(17.4)	36(52.2)	21(30.4)	69(100)	1.13
	3	29(27.4)	48(45.3)	29(27.3)	106(100)	1.00
	(Hi) 4	37(32.7)	54(47.8)	22(19.5)	113(100)	.87



Table 35: Average Status by Normlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility

Social Mobility Control	Average Status	Normlessness				Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)			
Down	(Lo) 0	1 { 8.3 }	5 { 41.7 }	6 { 50.0 }	12 { 100 }	1.42	
	1	7 { 22.6 }	12 { 38.7 }	12 { 38.7 }	31 { 100 }	.97	
	2	8 { 24.2 }	18 { 54.6 }	7 { 21.2 }	33 { 100 }	1.00	
	3	10 { 29.4 }	14 { 41.2 }	10 { 29.4 }	34 { 100 }	1.00	
	(Hi) 4	3 { 27.3 }	5 { 45.4 }	3 { 27.3 }	11 { 100 }	1.00	
Stable	(Lo) 0	17 { 7.3 }	78 { 33.6 }	137 { 59.1 }	232 { 100 }	1.52	
	1	44 { 19.9 }	78 { 35.3 }	99 { 44.8 }	221 { 100 }	1.25	
	2	41 { 22.0 }	77 { 41.4 }	68 { 36.6 }	186 { 100 }	1.15	
	3	59 { 33.3 }	69 { 39.0 }	49 { 27.7 }	177 { 100 }	.94	
	(Hi) 4	44 { 32.1 }	64 { 46.7 }	29 { 21.2 }	137 { 100 }	.89	
Up	(Lo) 0	3 { 27.4 }	4 { 36.3 }	4 { 36.3 }	11 { 100 }	1.09	
	1	3 { 10.0 }	10 { 33.3 }	17 { 56.7 }	30 { 100 }	1.47	
	2	18 { 26.1 }	25 { 36.2 }	26 { 37.7 }	69 { 100 }	1.12	
	3	43 { 40.6 }	39 { 36.8 }	24 { 22.6 }	106 { 100 }	.82	
	(Hi) 4	34 { 30.1 }	49 { 43.4 }	30 { 26.5 }	113 { 100 }	.96	

Table 36: Average Status by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility

Social Mobility Control	Average Status	POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS										Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	(High) N (%)	4 N (%)	5 N (%)	6 N (%)	7 N (%)	8 N (%)		
Down	(Lo) 0	0 (0.0)	1 (8.3)	3 (25.0)	7 (58.3)	1 (8.4)						12 (100)	2.67
	1	5 (16.7)	5 (16.7)	7 (23.2)	8 (26.7)	5 (16.7)						30 (100)	2.10
	2	1 (3.0)	10 (30.3)	14 (42.4)	5 (15.2)	3 (9.1)						33 (100)	1.97
	3	5 (14.7)	8 (23.5)	13 (38.3)	5 (14.7)	3 (8.8)						34 (100)	1.79
	(H1) 4	0 (0.0)	4 (36.3)	3 (27.3)	3 (27.3)	1 (9.1)						11 (100)	2.09
Stable	(Lo) 0	4 (1.7)	25 (10.8)	56 (24.3)	70 (30.3)	76 (32.9)						231 (100)	2.82
	1	15 (6.8)	38 (17.4)	71 (32.4)	61 (29.9)	34 (15.5)						219 (100)	2.28
	2	13 (7.0)	32 (17.3)	68 (36.8)	46 (24.9)	26 (14.0)						185 (100)	2.22
	3	16 (9.1)	38 (21.6)	70 (39.8)	38 (21.6)	14 (7.9)						176 (100)	1.98
	(H1) 4	12 (8.8)	38 (28.0)	55 (40.4)	26 (19.1)	5 (3.7)						136 (100)	1.81
Up	(Lo) 0	1 (9.1)	0 (0.0)	4 (36.3)	4 (33.6)	2 (18.3)						11 (100)	2.55
	1	1 (3.4)	4 (13.3)	3 (10.0)	12 (40.0)	10 (33.3)						30 (100)	2.87
	2	6 (8.7)	12 (17.4)	18 (26.1)	27 (39.1)	6 (8.7)						69 (100)	2.22
	3	13 (12.3)	29 (27.3)	35 (33.0)	25 (23.6)	4 (3.8)						106 (100)	1.79
	(H1) 4	11 (9.7)	27 (23.9)	42 (37.2)	30 (26.5)	3 (2.7)						113 (100)	1.88

Table 37: Average Status by Present Standing  
at Each Level of Social Mobility\*

Social Mobility Control	Average Status	Mean Present Standing
Down	(Lo) 0	5.77
	1	6.61
	2	6.63
	3	7.24
	(Hi) 4	7.64
Stable	(Lo) 0	6.52
	1	6.57
	2	6.67
	3	7.19
	(Hi) 4	7.13
Up	(Lo) 0	6.73
	1	6.40
	2	7.10
	3	7.17
	(Hi) 4	7.40

\* Because of the extreme length of the full table, only the means are presented here.

Table 38: Average Status by Future Orientation at Each Level  
of Social Mobility

Social Mobility Control	Average Status	FUTURE ORIENTATION			Total Row	
		Pessimistic (0)	Status Quo (1)	Optimistic (2)	Total	Row
		N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	$\bar{X}$
Down	(Lo) 0	1( 7.7)	8(61.5)	4(30.8)	13(100)	1.23
	1	5(16.1)	12(38.7)	14(45.2)	31(100)	1.29
	2	2( 6.2)	19(59.4)	11(34.4)	32(100)	1.28
	3	1( 2.9)	19(55.9)	14(41.2)	34(100)	1.38
	(Hi) 4	0( 0.0)	4(36.4)	7(63.6)	11(100)	1.64
Stable	(Lo) 0	24(10.7)	90(40.2)	110(49.1)	224(100)	1.38
	1	19( 8.9)	96(45.1)	98(46.0)	213(100)	1.37
	2	9( 4.9)	79(42.9)	96(52.2)	184(100)	1.47
	3	12( 7.0)	59(34.3)	101(58.7)	172(100)	1.52
	(Hi) 4	7( 5.3)	45(34.1)	80(60.6)	132(100)	1.55
Up	(Lo) 0	0( 0.0)	7(70.0)	3(30.0)	10(100)	1.30
	1	1( 3.9)	14(53.8)	11(42.3)	26(100)	1.38
	2	6( 9.2)	29(44.6)	30(46.2)	65(100)	1.37
	3	6( 5.7)	41(38.7)	59(55.6)	106(100)	1.50
	(Hi) 4	6( 5.4)	36(32.4)	69(62.2)	111(100)	1.57

Table 39: Average Status by Powerlessness at Each Level of Status Inconsistency

Status Inconsis. Control	Average Status	POWERLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	0	22(16.8)	40(30.5)	69(52.7)	131(100)	1.36
	1	10(31.2)	15(46.9)	7(21.9)	32(100)	.91
	2	16(42.1)	14(36.8)	8(21.1)	38(100)	.79
	3	37(41.1)	36(40.0)	17(18.9)	90(100)	.78
	4	68(46.9)	58(40.0)	19(13.1)	145(100)	.66
1	0	23(30.7)	19(25.3)	33(44.0)	75(100)	1.13
	1	32(25.8)	56(45.2)	36(29.0)	124(100)	1.03
	2	48(29.8)	80(49.7)	33(20.5)	161(100)	.91
	3	61(43.3)	49(34.7)	31(22.0)	141(100)	.79
	4	37(40.2)	42(45.7)	13(14.1)	92(100)	.74
(High) 2	0	18(21.9)	36(43.9)	28(34.2)	82(100)	1.12
	1	41(27.3)	70(46.7)	39(26.0)	150(100)	.99
	2	36(31.0)	50(43.1)	30(25.9)	116(100)	.95
	3	45(44.6)	38(37.6)	18(17.8)	101(100)	.73
	4	12(35.3)	14(41.2)	8(23.5)	34(100)	.88

Table 40: Average Status by Social Isolation at Each Level of Status Inconsistency

Status Inconsis. Control	Average Status	SOCIAL ISOLATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	0	19(14.4)	73(55.3)	40(30.3)	132(100)	1.16
	1	7(21.9)	15(46.9)	10(31.2)	32(100)	1.09
	2	10(26.3)	22(57.9)	6(15.8)	38(100)	.89
	3	31(34.4)	43(47.8)	16(17.8)	90(100)	.83
	4	37(25.4)	78(53.4)	31(21.2)	146(100)	.96
1	0	13(17.1)	43(56.6)	20(26.3)	76(100)	1.09
	1	27(21.4)	72(57.2)	27(21.4)	126(100)	1.00
	2	42(25.9)	80(49.4)	40(24.7)	162(100)	.99
	3	38(26.7)	67(47.2)	37(26.1)	142(100)	.99
	4	24(26.1)	52(56.5)	16(17.4)	92(100)	.91
(High) 2	0	14(17.1)	55(67.1)	13(15.8)	82(100)	.99
	1	33(21.9)	90(59.6)	28(18.5)	151(100)	.97
	2	32(27.6)	62(53.4)	22(19.0)	116(100)	.91
	3	24(23.8)	57(56.4)	20(19.8)	101(100)	.96
	4	13(38.2)	16(47.1)	5(14.7)	34(100)	.76

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100



Table 41: Average Status by Normlessness at Each Level of Status Inconsistency

Status Inconsis. Control	Average Status	NORMLESSNESS					Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) N (%)	2 N (%)			
(Low) 0	0	12 ( 9.4)	37 (28.9)	79 (61.7)			128 (100)	1.52
	1	14 (45.2)	9 (29.0)	8 (25.8)			31 (100)	.81
	2	14 (36.8)	14 (36.9)	10 (26.3)			38 (100)	.89
	3	38 (42.2)	34 (37.8)	18 (20.0)			90 (100)	.78
	4	41 (28.1)	69 (47.3)	36 (24.6)			146 (100)	.97
1	0	4 ( 5.4)	28 (37.8)	42 (56.8)			74 (100)	1.51
	1	23 (18.3)	47 (37.3)	56 (44.4)			126 (100)	1.26
	2	36 (22.4)	70 (43.5)	55 (34.1)			161 (100)	1.12
	3	44 (31.0)	59 (41.5)	39 (27.5)			142 (100)	.96
	4	33 (35.9)	38 (41.3)	21 (22.8)			92 (100)	.87
(High) 2	0	9 (11.0)	25 (30.5)	48 (58.5)			82 (100)	1.48
	1	21 (13.9)	56 (37.1)	74 (49.0)			151 (100)	1.35
	2	23 (20.0)	47 (40.9)	45 (39.1)			115 (100)	1.19
	3	35 (34.7)	37 (36.6)	29 (28.7)			101 (100)	.94
	4	9 (26.5)	17 (50.0)	8 (23.5)			34 (100)	.97

Table 42: Average Status by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Status Inconsistency

Status Inconsis. Control	Average Status	POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS						Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	(High) N (%)	4 N (%)		
(Low) 0	0	3 { 2.4 }	14 { 11.0 }	23 { 18.1 }	42 { 33.1 }	45 { 35.4 }		127 { 100 }	2.88
	1	4 { 12.9 }	7 { 22.6 }	12 { 38.7 }	4 { 12.9 }	4 { 12.9 }		31 { 100 }	1.90
	2	5 { 13.2 }	8 { 21.0 }	11 { 28.9 }	12 { 31.6 }	2 { 5.3 }		38 { 100 }	1.95
	3	15 { 16.7 }	22 { 24.4 }	31 { 34.4 }	18 { 20.0 }	4 { 4.5 }		90 { 100 }	1.71
	4	11 { 7.6 }	38 { 26.2 }	61 { 42.1 }	30 { 20.7 }	5 { 3.4 }		145 { 100 }	1.86
1	0	1 { 1.4 }	8 { 10.8 }	20 { 27.0 }	28 { 37.8 }	17 { 23.0 }		74 { 100 }	2.70
	1	8 { 6.5 }	19 { 15.3 }	34 { 27.4 }	44 { 35.5 }	19 { 15.3 }		124 { 100 }	2.38
	2	9 { 5.6 }	29 { 18.1 }	60 { 37.5 }	39 { 24.4 }	23 { 14.4 }		160 { 100 }	2.24
	3	14 { 9.9 }	26 { 18.4 }	56 { 39.7 }	37 { 26.3 }	8 { 5.7 }		141 { 100 }	1.99
	4	11 { 12.0 }	25 { 27.2 }	30 { 32.6 }	22 { 23.9 }	4 { 4.3 }		92 { 100 }	1.82
(High) 2	0	3 { 3.6 }	4 { 4.9 }	26 { 31.7 }	21 { 25.6 }	28 { 34.2 }		82 { 100 }	2.82
	1	10 { 6.7 }	24 { 16.0 }	44 { 29.3 }	42 { 28.0 }	30 { 20.0 }		150 { 100 }	2.39
	2	9 { 7.8 }	21 { 18.3 }	36 { 31.3 }	34 { 29.6 }	15 { 13.0 }		115 { 100 }	2.22
	3	9 { 8.9 }	30 { 29.7 }	36 { 35.6 }	16 { 15.9 }	10 { 9.9 }		101 { 100 }	1.88
	4	2 { 5.9 }	9 { 26.5 }	14 { 41.2 }	8 { 23.5 }	1 { 2.9 }		34 { 100 }	1.91

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Table 43: Average Status by Present Standing  
at all Levels of Status Inconsistency

Status Inconsis. Control	Average Status	Mean PRESENT STANDING
(Low) 0	0	6.44
	1	6.03
	2	6.71
	3	7.18
	4	7.21
1	0	6.37
	1	6.54
	2	6.80
	3	7.16
	4	6.85
(High) 2	0	6.73
	1	6.54
	2	6.90
	3	6.72
	4	7.44

Table 44: Average Status by Future Orientation at Each Level  
of Status Inconsistency

Status Inconsis. Control	Average Status	FUTURE ORIENTATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		Pessimistic (0)	Status Quo(1)	Optimistic (2)		
		N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		
(Low) 0	0	16(12.7)	51(40.5)	59(46.8)	126(100)	1.34
	1	2( 6.7)	13(43.3)	15(50.0)	39(100)	1.43
	2	1( 2.6)	19(50.0)	18(47.4)	38(100)	1.45
	3	5( 5.7)	27(30.7)	56(63.6)	88(100)	1.58
	4	7( 5.0)	55(39.0)	79(56.0)	141(100)	1.51
1	0	6( 8.3)	32(44.5)	34(47.2)	72(100)	1.39
	1	9( 7.3)	53(43.1)	61(49.6)	123(100)	1.42
	2	9( 5.7)	66(41.5)	84(52.8)	159(100)	1.47
	3	8( 5.7)	60(42.9)	72(51.4)	140(100)	1.46
	4	4( 4.4)	23(25.3)	64(70.3)	91(100)	1.66
(High) 2	0	9(11.5)	34(43.6)	35(44.9)	78(100)	1.33
	1	14( 9.9)	66(46.5)	62(43.6)	142(100)	1.34
	2	8( 7.3)	52(47.3)	50(45.4)	110(100)	1.38
	3	6( 6.0)	36(36.0)	58(58.0)	100(100)	1.52
	4	2( 6.1)	13(39.4)	18(54.5)	33(100)	1.48

Table 16, and again indicates the possible separability of SOI as a component of alienation, with respect to AS.

Table 37 depicts the relationship of AS and Present Standing. In this table, we have presented only the mean PS for each AS level, at each level of SM, rather than the full eleven-value PS range. This was done because the original table with all eleven values contained 154 cells, and with some cells containing few or no N, making the full table of doubtful value. In any case, inspection of the means allows one to make sufficient interpretations. Inspection of these means reveals patterns which are similar to those presented in Table 19. Generally, there is an increase in PS means with each increase in AS level, at each level of SM. The only exception occurs at the second AS level in the "Up" SM category, where the PS mean drops below that which one would have expected based upon the general linear increase. Generally, the relationships are much more "linear" than in the original table.

Table 38 characterizes the relationship between AS and Future Orientation. Again, there is a generally linear relationship, with each AS level having a higher FO mean, and a higher percentage of persons in the "Optimistic" category than any lower AS level. This relationship is present at each level of the SM control. We would take this as evidence that AS is related to FO, irrespective of any effect that SM might have upon FO.

Tables 39, 41 and 42 indicate that AS is related to P, N and PN, at each level of control for Status Inconsistency. Again,

each level of AS has a lower alienation mean than the next higher AS level, and the inverse linear relationship remains. Table 40 indicates that there is a general inverse linear regression for SOI, but the magnitude of the differences between the various SOI means are very small, which would lead us to state that again, there is no relationship between AS and SOI.

Table 43 indicates that AS is related to PS, at each level of control for SI. Again, the relationship is linear and direct. The only exceptions are at the high and low consistency levels, where the relationship is slightly curvilinear, with the lowest AS level having a higher PS mean than the next highest AS level. Given the general linearity of the rest of the PS means, however, we would interpret this as a linear relationship.

Table 44 indicates a direct relationship between AS and FO, at each level of SI. Generally, there are higher percentages of persons in the "Optimistic" category at the higher AS levels, than at the lower AS levels, at each level of SI. We would interpret this to mean that AS is related to FO, irrespective of any influence that SI might exert.

In summary, it would appear that Average Status is consistently related to alienation, as indexed by the alienation sub-scales—as well as by Present Standing and Future Orientation—and that the effect of SI and SM on AS is little or none. We would also note that SOI seems to be somewhat independent index of alienation, at least as far as AS is concerned. It may be that SOI indexes a form of alienation that is characteristic of some other more or less "specialized" population, but it is definitely not



characteristic of high or low Average Status.

We might note that the control for SM—at least at the "Up" category—tends to produce a deflection in the linear regression of alienation means at the second, or lower-middle, status level. This is also the level at which Status Inconsistency "peaks" in its relationship to Average Status, so that perhaps the Social Mobility control allows SI to exert its effect in selected places upon the AS scale. This may be borne out in examining later tables depicting the relationship of SI to alienation, while controlling for AS and SM simultaneously.

#### Status Inconsistency Relationships

Tables 45-50 characterize the relationship of SI to alienation, at each level of SM. An inspection of these tables reveals, briefly, that there is no consistent pattern, and therefore, absolutely no relationship between SI and alienation. The only possible exception is the Table 48, where a linear, direct relationship between SI and PN appears. Examination of Tables 45 and 47 (for P and N, separately), however, reveals that neither of these component tables indicate a linear relationship; further, they appear to create an impression of linearity due to mutual canceling out of differences. That is, when Tables 45 and 47—which make up Table 48—are taken separately, they indicate no consistent relationship; when they are fused as they are in Table 48, it would appear that they spuriously create an impression of linearity. We would argue that all three tables must have a consistent linear pattern to constitute "proof" of a



Table

Social  
Mobilit  
Control

Down

Stable

Up

Tabl

Soci  
Mobil  
Contr

Down

Stab.

Up

Table 45: Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility

Social Mobility Control	Status Inconsis.	POWERLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
Down	(Lo) 0	15(44.1)	17(50.0)	2( 5.9)	34(100)	.62
	1	27(51.9)	16(30.8)	9(17.3)	52(100)	.65
	(Hi) 2	10(28.5)	15(42.9)	10(28.6)	35(100)	1.00
Stable	(Lo) 0	95(33.7)	100(35.5)	87(30.8)	282(100)	.97
	1	106(29.0)	163(44.7)	96(26.3)	365(100)	.97
	(Hi) 2	93(30.5)	129(42.3)	83(27.2)	305(100)	.97
Up	(Lo) 0	33(41.8)	32(40.5)	14(17.7)	79(100)	.76
	1	49(39.2)	45(36.0)	31(24.8)	125(100)	.86
	(Hi) 2	45(36.0)	55(44.0)	25(20.0)	125(100)	.84

Table 46: Status Inconsistency by Social Isolation at Each Level of Social Mobility

Social Mobility Control	Status Inconsis.	SOCIAL ISOLATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
Down	(Lo) 0	9(26.5)	20(58.8)	5(14.7)	34(100)	.88
	1	12(22.6)	29(54.7)	12(22.7)	53(100)	1.00
	(Hi) 2	7(20.0)	24(68.6)	4(11.4)	35(100)	.91
Stable	(Lo) 0	68(23.9)	144(50.7)	72(25.4)	284(100)	1.01
	1	89(24.2)	195(53.0)	84(22.8)	368(100)	.99
	(Hi) 2	69(22.6)	184(60.1)	53(17.3)	306(100)	.95
Up	(Lo) 0	22(27.8)	39(49.4)	18(22.8)	79(100)	.95
	1	32(25.6)	60(48.0)	33(26.4)	125(100)	1.01
	(Hi) 2	37(29.6)	61(48.8)	27(21.6)	125(100)	.92

**Table 47: Status Inconsistency by Normlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility**

Table 47: Status Inconsistency by Normlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility

Social Mobility Control	Status Inconsis.	NORMLESSNESS				Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)			
Down	(Lo) 0	9 (26.5)	15 (44.1)	10 (29.4)	34 (100)	1.03	
	1	12 (23.1)	22 (42.3)	18 (34.6)	52 (100)	1.12	
	(Hi) 2	8 (22.8)	17 (48.6)	10 (28.6)	35 (100)	1.06	
Stable	(Lo) 0	78 (27.8)	106 (37.7)	97 (34.5)	281 (100)	1.07	
	1	80 (21.8)	146 (39.8)	141 (38.4)	367 (100)	1.17	
	(Hi) 2	47 (15.4)	114 (37.4)	144 (47.2)	305 (100)	1.32	
Up	(Lo) 0	25 (31.7)	31 (39.2)	23 (29.1)	79 (100)	.97	
	1	37 (29.6)	52 (41.6)	36 (28.8)	125 (100)	.99	
	(Hi) 2	39 (31.2)	44 (35.2)	42 (33.6)	125 (100)	1.02	

**Table 48: Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility**

Table 48: Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Social Mobility

Social Mobility Control	Status Inconsis.	POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS						Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	(High) N (%)	4 N (%)		
Down	(Lo) 0	3 ( 8.8)	11 (32.3)	9 (26.5)	9 (26.5)	2 ( 5.9)		34 (100)	1.88
	1	6 (11.8)	11 (21.5)	17 (33.4)	11 (21.5)	6 (11.8)		51 (100)	2.00
	(Hi) 2	2 ( 5.7)	6 (17.1)	14 (40.0)	8 (22.9)	5 (14.3)		35 (100)	2.23
Stable	(Lo) 0	25 ( 9.0)	55 (19.7)	91 (32.6)	64 (22.9)	44 (15.8)		279 (100)	2.17
	1	18 ( 5.0)	63 (17.3)	131 (36.0)	101 (27.7)	51 (14.0)		364 (100)	2.29
	(Hi) 2	17 ( 5.6)	53 (17.4)	98 (32.2)	76 (25.0)	60 (19.8)		304 (100)	2.36
Up	(Lo) 0	6 ( 7.6)	19 (24.1)	31 (39.2)	20 (25.3)	3 ( 3.8)		79 (100)	1.94
	1	13 (10.4)	25 (20.0)	37 (29.6)	43 (34.4)	7 ( 5.6)		125 (100)	2.05
	(Hi) 2	13 (10.4)	28 (22.4)	34 (27.2)	35 (28.0)	15 (12.0)		125 (100)	2.09

S

Soci  
Mobil  
Contr

Dow

Stab

Up

Table 49: Status Inconsistency by Present Standing  
at Each Level of Social Mobility

Social Mobility Control	Status Inconsis.	Mean PRESENT STANDING
Down	(Lo) 0	7.09
	1	6.51
	(Hi) 2	6.94
Stable	(Lo) 0	6.76
	1	6.72
	(Hi) 2	6.84
Up	(Lo) 0	7.16
	1	7.14
	(Hi) 2	6.82

Table 50: Status Inconsistency by Future Orientation  
at Each Level of Social Mobility

Social Mobility Control	Status Inconsis.	FUTURE ORIENTATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		Pessimistic (0)	Status Quo (1)	Optimistic (2)		
		N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		
Down	(Lo) 0	1( 2.9)	19(55.9)	14(41.2)	34(100)	1.38
	1	2( 3.8)	27(50.9)	24(45.3)	53(100)	1.42
	(Hi) 2	6(17.6)	16(47.1)	12(35.3)	34(100)	1.18
Stable	(Lo) 0	23( 8.4)	106(39.0)	143(52.6)	272(100)	1.44
	1	26( 7.3)	139(38.8)	193(53.9)	358(100)	1.47
	(Hi) 2	22( 7.5)	124(42.0)	149(50.5)	295(100)	1.43
Up	(Lo) 0	3( 3.9)	26(38.3)	49(62.8)	78(100)	1.59
	1	7( 5.7)	50(41.0)	65(53.3)	122(100)	1.48
	(Hi) 2	9( 7.6)	51(43.2)	58(49.2)	118(100)	1.42



relat

Ta

when

AS co

There

betw

ther

insp

leve

as e

to c

ali

mus

bet

ali

lin

rel

on

Soc

whi

the

eff

tha

high

relationship. And they do not.

Tables 51-56 detail the relationship of SI to alienation, when controlling for AS. According to our original hypotheses, AS confounds the expected relationship of SI to alienation. Therefore, in this set of tables, there should be a relationship between SI and alienation. But, as with the previous tables, there are no indications whatsoever of a relationship. An inspection of the row means for each level of SI, at each control level of AS, reveals no consistent patterning which can be taken as evidence for the existence of a relationship. We are forced to conclude, then, that there is no relationship between SI and alienation.

In summary, and at least for the first order controls, we must reject our original hypotheses of significant differences between various levels of Status Inconsistency with respect to alienation. There appear to be few, if any differences. Controlling for the effect of AS upon SI does not produce the expected relationship, and, therefore, we conclude that SI has no effect on alienation.

#### Social Mobility Relationships

Tables 57-62 detail the relationship of SM to alienation, while controlling for the effect of SI; and Tables 63-68 detail the relationship of SM to alienation while controlling for the effect of AS. An inspection of Tables 57, 59 and 60 reveals that—in 8 of 9 cases—it is the "Stable" group which has the highest level of alienation. This finding, of course, may be



Table 51: Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness at Each Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Status Inconsis.	POWERLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	(Lo) 0	22 {16.8}	40 {30.5}	69 {52.7}	131 {100}	1.36
	1	23 {30.7}	19 {25.3}	33 {44.0}	75 {100}	1.13
	(Hi) 2	18 {21.9}	36 {43.9}	28 {34.2}	82 {100}	1.12
1	(Lo) 0	10 {31.2}	15 {46.9}	7 {21.9}	32 {100}	.91
	1	32 {25.8}	56 {45.2}	36 {29.0}	124 {100}	1.03
	(Hi) 2	41 {27.3}	70 {46.7}	39 {26.0}	150 {100}	.99
2	(Lo) 0	16 {42.1}	14 {36.8}	8 {21.1}	38 {100}	.79
	1	48 {29.8}	80 {49.7}	33 {20.5}	161 {100}	.91
	(Hi) 2	36 {31.0}	50 {43.1}	30 {25.9}	116 {100}	.95
3	(Lo) 0	37 {41.1}	36 {40.0}	17 {18.9}	90 {100}	.78
	1	61 {43.3}	49 {34.7}	31 {22.0}	141 {100}	.79
	(Hi) 2	45 {44.6}	38 {37.6}	18 {17.8}	101 {100}	.73
(High). 4	(Lo) 0	68 {46.9}	58 {40.0}	19 {13.1}	145 {100}	.66
	1	37 {40.2}	42 {45.7}	13 {14.1}	92 {100}	.74
	(Hi) 2	12 {35.3}	14 {41.2}	8 {23.5}	34 {100}	.88

Resolution at Each Level of Average Status

Table 52: Status Inconsistency by Social Isolation at Each Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Status Inconsis.	SOCIAL ISOLATION				Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)			
(Low) 0	(Lo) 0	19 (14.4)	73 (55.3)	40 (30.3)	132 (100)	1.16	
	1	13 (17.1)	43 (56.6)	20 (26.3)	76 (100)	1.09	
	(Hi) 2	14 (17.1)	55 (67.1)	13 (15.8)	82 (100)	.99	
1	(Lo) 0	7 (21.9)	15 (46.9)	10 (31.2)	32 (100)	1.09	
	1	27 (21.4)	72 (57.2)	27 (21.4)	126 (100)	1.00	
	(Hi) 2	33 (21.9)	90 (59.6)	28 (18.5)	151 (100)	.97	
2	(Lo) 0	10 (26.3)	22 (57.9)	6 (15.8)	38 (100)	.89	
	1	42 (25.9)	80 (49.4)	40 (24.7)	162 (100)	.99	
	(Hi) 2	32 (27.6)	62 (53.4)	22 (19.0)	116 (100)	.91	
3	(Lo) 0	31 (34.4)	43 (47.8)	16 (17.8)	90 (100)	.83	
	1	38 (26.7)	67 (47.2)	37 (26.1)	142 (100)	.99	
	(Hi) 2	24 (23.8)	57 (56.4)	20 (19.8)	101 (100)	.96	
(High) 4	(Lo) 0	37 (25.3)	78 (53.4)	31 (21.2)	146 (100)	.96	
	1	24 (26.1)	52 (56.5)	16 (17.4)	92 (100)	.91	
	(Hi) 2	13 (38.2)	16 (47.1)	5 (14.7)	34 (100)	.76	

.....

.....

.....

.....

Table 53: Status Inconsistency by Normlessness at Each Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Status Inconsis.	NORMLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	(Lo) 0	12 ( 9.4)	37 (28.9)	79 (61.7)	128 (100)	1.52
	1	4 ( 5.4)	28 (37.8)	42 (56.8)	74 (100)	1.51
	(Hi) 2	9 (11.0)	25 (30.5)	48 (58.5)	82 (100)	1.48
1	(Lo) 0	14 (45.2)	9 (29.0)	8 (25.8)	31 (100)	.81
	1	23 (18.3)	47 (37.3)	56 (44.4)	126 (100)	1.26
	(Hi) 2	21 (13.9)	56 (37.1)	74 (49.0)	151 (100)	1.35
2	(Lo) 0	14 (36.8)	14 (36.8)	10 (26.4)	38 (100)	.89
	1	36 (22.4)	70 (43.5)	55 (34.1)	161 (100)	1.12
	(Hi) 2	23 (20.0)	47 (40.9)	45 (39.1)	115 (100)	1.19
3	(Lo) 0	38 (42.2)	34 (37.8)	18 (20.0)	90 (100)	.78
	1	44 (31.0)	59 (41.5)	39 (27.5)	142 (100)	.96
	(Hi) 2	35 (34.7)	37 (36.6)	29 (28.7)	101 (100)	.94
(High) 4	(Lo) 0	41 (28.1)	69 (47.3)	36 (24.6)	146 (100)	.97
	1	33 (35.9)	38 (41.3)	21 (22.8)	92 (100)	.87
	(Hi) 2	9 (26.5)	17 (50.0)	8 (23.5)	34 (100)	.97





Table 54: Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Status Inconsis.	POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS						Total N (%)	Row $\bar{x}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	(High) 4 N (%)			
(Low) 0	(Lo) 0	3 ( 2.4)	14 (11.0)	23 (18.1)	42 (33.1)	45 (35.4)	127 (100)	2.88	
	1	1 ( 1.4)	8 (10.8)	20 (27.0)	28 (37.8)	17 (23.0)	74 (100)	2.70	
	(Hi) 2	3 ( 3.7)	4 ( 4.9)	26 (31.7)	21 (25.6)	28 (34.1)	82 (100)	2.82	
1	(Lo) 0	4 (12.9)	7 (22.6)	12 (38.7)	4 (12.9)	4 (12.9)	31 (100)	1.90	
	1	8 ( 6.5)	19 (15.3)	34 (27.4)	44 (35.5)	19 (15.3)	124 (100)	2.38	
	(Hi) 2	10 ( 6.7)	24 (16.0)	44 (29.3)	42 (28.0)	30 (20.0)	150 (100)	2.39	
2	(Lo) 0	5 (13.2)	8 (22.0)	11 (28.9)	12 (31.6)	2 ( 5.3)	38 (100)	1.95	
	1	9 ( 5.6)	29 (18.1)	60 (37.5)	39 (24.4)	23 (14.4)	160 (100)	2.24	
	(Hi) 2	9 ( 7.8)	21 (18.3)	36 (31.3)	34 (29.6)	15 (13.0)	115 (100)	2.22	
3	(Lo) 0	15 (16.7)	22 (24.4)	31 (34.4)	18 (20.0)	4 ( 4.5)	90 (100)	1.71	
	1	14 ( 9.9)	26 (18.5)	56 (39.7)	37 (26.2)	8 ( 5.7)	141 (100)	1.99	
	(Hi) 2	9 ( 8.9)	30 (29.7)	36 (35.6)	16 (15.9)	10 ( 9.9)	101 (100)	1.88	
(High) 4	(Lo) 0	11 ( 7.6)	38 (26.2)	61 (42.1)	30 (20.7)	5 ( 3.4)	145 (100)	1.86	
	1	11 (12.0)	25 (27.2)	30 (32.6)	22 (23.9)	4 ( 4.3)	92 (100)	1.82	
	(Hi) 2	2 ( 5.9)	9 (26.5)	14 (41.2)	8 (23.5)	1 ( 2.9)	34 (100)	1.91	

A

Averag  
Status  
Contro

(Low)

(High

Table 55: Status Inconsistency by Present Standing  
at Each Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Status Inconsis.	Mean PRESENT STANDING
(Low) 0	(Lo) 0	6.44
	1	6.37
	(Hi) 2	6.73
1	(Lo) 0	6.03
	1	6.54
	(Hi) 2	6.54
2	(Lo) 0	6.71
	1	6.80
	(Hi) 2	6.90
3	(Lo) 0	7.18
	1	7.16
	(Hi) 2	7.22
(High) 4	(Lo) 0	7.21
	1	6.85
	(Hi) 2	7.44

Table 56: Status Inconsistency by Future Orientation  
at Each Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Status Incon.	FUTURE ORIENTATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		Pessimistic (0)	Status Quo (1)	Optimistic (2)		
		N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		
(Low) 0	(Lo) 0	16(12.7)	51(40.5)	59(46.8)	126(100)	1.34
	1	6( 8.3)	32( 4.5)	34(47.2)	72(100)	1.39
	(Hi) 2	9(11.5)	34(43.6)	35(44.9)	78(100)	1.33
1	(Lo) 0	2( 6.7)	13(43.3)	15(50.0)	30(100)	1.43
	1	9( 7.3)	53(43.1)	61(49.6)	123(100)	1.42
	(Hi) 2	14( 9.9)	66(46.5)	62(43.6)	142(100)	1.34
2	(Lo) 0	1( 2.6)	19(50.0)	18(47.4)	38(100)	1.45
	1	9( 5.7)	66(41.5)	84(52.8)	159(100)	1.47
	(Hi) 2	8( 7.3)	52(47.3)	50(45.4)	110(100)	1.38
3	(Lo) 0	5( 5.7)	27(30.7)	56(63.6)	88(100)	1.58
	1	8( 5.7)	60(42.9)	72(51.4)	140(100)	1.46
	(Hi) 2	6( 6.0)	36(36.0)	58(58.0)	100(100)	1.52
(High) 4	(Lo) 0	7( 5.0)	55(39.0)	79(56.0)	141(100)	1.51
	1	4( 4.4)	23(25.3)	64(70.3)	91(100)	1.66
	(Hi) 2	2( 6.1)	13(39.4)	18(54.5)	33(100)	1.48

Table

Status  
Inconsi  
Contro

(Low)0

(High)

Tab

Status  
Incons  
Contr

(Low

(High

Table 57: Social Mobility by Powerlessness at Each Level of Status Inconsistency

Status Inconsis. Control	Social Mobility	POWERLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low)0	Down	15(44.1)	17(50.0)	2(5.9)	34(100)	.62
	Stable	95(33.7)	100(35.5)	87(30.8)	87(100)	.97
	Up	33(41.8)	32(40.5)	14(17.7)	79(100)	.76
1	Down	27(51.9)	16(30.8)	9(17.3)	52(100)	.65
	Stable	106(29.0)	163(14.7)	96(26.3)	365(100)	.97
	Up	49(39.2)	45(36.0)	31(24.8)	125(100)	.86
(High)2	Down	10(28.6)	15(42.8)	10(28.6)	35(100)	1.00
	Stable	93(30.5)	129(42.3)	83(27.2)	305(100)	.97
	Up	45(36.0)	55(44.0)	25(20.0)	125(100)	.84

Table 58: Social Mobility by Social Isolation at Each Level of Status Inconsistency

Status Inconsis. Control	Social Mobility	SOCIAL ISOLATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low)0	Down	9(26.5)	20(58.8)	5(14.7)	34(100)	.88
	Stable	68(23.9)	144(50.7)	72(25.4)	284(100)	1.01
	Up	22(27.8)	39(49.4)	18(22.8)	79(100)	.95
1	Down	12(22.6)	29(54.8)	12(22.6)	53(100)	1.00
	Stable	89(24.2)	195(53.0)	84(22.8)	368(100)	.99
	Up	32(25.6)	60(48.0)	33(26.4)	125(100)	1.01
(High)2	Down	7(20.0)	24(68.6)	4(11.4)	35(100)	.91
	Stable	69(22.6)	184(60.1)	53(17.3)	306(100)	.95
	Up	37(29.6)	61(42.8)	27(21.6)	125(100)	.92



Table 59: Social Mobility by Normlessness at Each Level of Status Inconsistency

Status Inconsis. Control	Social Mobility	NORMLESSNESS				Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 (High) N (%)			
(Low) 0	Down	9 (26.5)	15 (44.1)	10 (29.4)	34 (100)	1.03	
	Stable	78 (27.8)	106 (37.7)	97 (34.5)	97 (100)	1.07	
	Up	25 (31.7)	31 (39.2)	23 (29.1)	79 (100)	.97	
1	Down	12 (23.1)	22 (42.3)	18 (34.6)	52 (100)	1.12	
	Stable	80 (21.8)	146 (39.8)	141 (38.4)	367 (100)	1.17	
	Up	37 (29.6)	52 (41.6)	36 (28.8)	125 (100)	.99	
(High) 2	Down	8 (22.8)	17 (48.6)	10 (28.6)	35 ( 100)	1.06	
	Stable	47 (15.4)	114 (37.4)	144 (47.2)	305 (100)	1.32	
	Up	39 (31.2)	44 (35.2)	42 (33.6)	125 (100)	1.02	



Table 60: Social Mobility by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Status Inconsistency

Status Inconsis. Control	Social Mobility	POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS					Total N	Row $\bar{X}$ (%)	
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	(High) 4 N (%)			
(Low)0	Down	3( 8.8)	11(32.3)	9(26.5)	9(26.5)	2( 5.9)	34	(100)	1.88
	Stable	25( 9.0)	55(19.7)	91(32.6)	64(22.9)	44(15.8)	279	(100)	2.17
	Up	6( 7.6)	19(24.1)	31(39.2)	20(25.3)	3( 3.8)	79	(100)	1.94
1	Down	6(11.8)	11(21.5)	17(33.4)	11(21.5)	6(11.8)	51	(100)	2.00
	Stable	18( 5.0)	63(17.3)	131(36.0)	101(27.7)	51(14.0)	364	(100)	2.29
	Up	13(10.4)	25(20.0)	37(29.6)	43(34.4)	7( 5.6)	125	(100)	2.05
(High)2	Down	2( 5.7)	6(17.1)	14(40.0)	8(22.9)	5(14.3)	35	(100)	2.23
	Stable	17( 5.6)	53(17.4)	98(13.2)	76(25.0)	60(19.8)	304	(100)	2.36
	Up	13(10.4)	28(22.4)	34(27.2)	35(28.0)	15(12.0)	125	(100)	2.09

Table 61: Social Mobility by Present Standing  
at Each Level of Status Inconsistency

Status Inconsistency Control	Social Mobility	Mean  PRESENT STANDING
(Low) 0	Down	7.09
	Stable	6.76
	Up	7.16
1	Down	6.51
	Stable	6.72
	Up	7.14
(High) 2	Down	6.94
	Stable	6.84
	Up	6.82

Table 62: Social Mobility by Future Orientation at Each  
Level of Status Inconsistency

Status Incon. Control	Social Mobility	FUTURE ORIENTATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		Pessimistic (0)	Status Quo (1)	Optimistic (2)		
		N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		
(Low) 0	Down	1( 2.9)	19(55.9)	14(41.2)	34(100)	1.38
	Stable	23( 8.4)	106(39.0)	143(52.6)	272(100)	1.44
	Up	3( 3.9)	26(33.3)	49(62.8)	78(100)	1.59
1	Down	2( 3.8)	27(50.9)	24(45.3)	53(100)	1.42
	Stable	26( 7.3)	139(38.8)	193(53.9)	358(100)	1.47
	Up	7( 5.7)	50(41.0)	65(53.3)	122(100)	1.48
(High) 2	Down	6(17.6)	16(47.1)	12(35.3)	34(100)	1.18
	Stable	22( 7.5)	124(42.0)	149(50.5)	295(100)	1.43
	Up	9( 7.6)	51(43.2)	58(49.2)	118(100)	1.42

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are listed in a column on the left, and the addresses are listed in a column on the right. The names are: John Doe, Jane Smith, and Bob Johnson. The addresses are: 123 Main St, 456 Elm St, and 789 Oak St.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are listed in a column on the left, and the addresses are listed in a column on the right. The names are: John Doe, Jane Smith, and Bob Johnson. The addresses are: 123 Main St, 456 Elm St, and 789 Oak St.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are listed in a column on the left, and the addresses are listed in a column on the right. The names are: John Doe, Jane Smith, and Bob Johnson. The addresses are: 123 Main St, 456 Elm St, and 789 Oak St.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are listed in a column on the left, and the addresses are listed in a column on the right. The names are: John Doe, Jane Smith, and Bob Johnson. The addresses are: 123 Main St, 456 Elm St, and 789 Oak St.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are listed in a column on the left, and the addresses are listed in a column on the right. The names are: John Doe, Jane Smith, and Bob Johnson. The addresses are: 123 Main St, 456 Elm St, and 789 Oak St.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are listed in a column on the left, and the addresses are listed in a column on the right. The names are: John Doe, Jane Smith, and Bob Johnson. The addresses are: 123 Main St, 456 Elm St, and 789 Oak St.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are listed in a column on the left, and the addresses are listed in a column on the right. The names are: John Doe, Jane Smith, and Bob Johnson. The addresses are: 123 Main St, 456 Elm St, and 789 Oak St.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are listed in a column on the left, and the addresses are listed in a column on the right. The names are: John Doe, Jane Smith, and Bob Johnson. The addresses are: 123 Main St, 456 Elm St, and 789 Oak St.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are listed in a column on the left, and the addresses are listed in a column on the right. The names are: John Doe, Jane Smith, and Bob Johnson. The addresses are: 123 Main St, 456 Elm St, and 789 Oak St.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are listed in a column on the left, and the addresses are listed in a column on the right. The names are: John Doe, Jane Smith, and Bob Johnson. The addresses are: 123 Main St, 456 Elm St, and 789 Oak St.

Table 63: Social Mobility by Powerlessness at Each Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Social Mobility	POWERLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	Down Stable Up	4 (30.8)	6 (46.1)	3 (23.1)	13 (100)	.92
		51 (21.8)	76 (32.5)	107 (45.7)	234 (100)	1.24
		3 (27.3)	5 (45.4)	3 (27.3)	11 (100)	1.00
1	Down Stable Up	12 (40.0)	11 (36.7)	7 (23.3)	30 (100)	.83
		60 (27.4)	103 (47.0)	56 (25.6)	219 (100)	.98
		6 (20.0)	14 (46.7)	10 (33.3)	30 (100)	1.13
2	Down Stable Up	14 (42.4)	14 (42.4)	5 (15.2)	33 (100)	.73
		61 (32.6)	81 (43.3)	45 (24.1)	187 (100)	.91
		19 (27.5)	33 (47.8)	17 (24.7)	69 (100)	.97
3	Down Stable Up	17 (50.0)	12 (35.3)	5 (14.7)	34 (100)	.65
		67 (38.1)	69 (39.2)	40 (22.7)	176 (100)	.85
		48 (45.3)	38 (35.8)	20 (18.9)	106 (100)	.74
(High) 4	Down Stable Up	5 (45.5)	5 (45.5)	1 (9.0)	11 (100)	.64
		55 (40.4)	63 (46.3)	18 (13.3)	136 (100)	.73
		51 (45.1)	42 (37.2)	20 (17.7)	113 (100)	.73

Table 64: Social Mobility by Social Isolation at Each Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Social Mobility	SOCIAL ISOLATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	Down	3 (23.1)	7 (53.8)	3 (23.1)	13 (100)	1.00
	Stable	36 (15.3)	137 (58.3)	62 (26.4)	235 (100)	1.11
	Up	3 (27.3)	6 (54.5)	2 (18.2)	11 (100)	.91
1	Down	4 (12.9)	21 (67.7)	6 (19.4)	31 (100)	1.06
	Stable	51 (23.1)	122 (55.2)	48 (21.7)	221 (100)	.99
	Up	10 (33.3)	16 (53.3)	4 (13.4)	30 (100)	.80
2	Down	10 (30.3)	19 (57.6)	4 (12.1)	33 (100)	.82
	Stable	57 (30.3)	91 (48.4)	40 (21.3)	188 (100)	.91
	Up	12 (17.4)	36 (52.2)	21 (30.4)	69 (100)	1.13
3	Down	8 (23.5)	21 (61.8)	5 (14.7)	34 (100)	.91
	Stable	49 (27.7)	92 (52.0)	36 (20.3)	177 (100)	.93
	Up	29 (27.4)	48 (45.3)	29 (27.3)	106 (100)	1.00
(High) 4	Down	3 (27.3)	5 (45.4)	3 (27.3)	11 (100)	1.00
	Stable	33 (24.1)	81 (59.1)	23 (16.8)	137 (100)	.93
	Up	37 (32.7)	54 (47.8)	22 (19.5)	113 (100)	.87

Table 65: Social Mobility by Normlessness at Each Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Social Mobility	NORMLESSNESS			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	(High) 2 N (%)		
(Low) 0	Down Stable Up	1 ( 8.3)	5 (41.7)	6 (50.0)	12 (100)	1.42
		17 { 7.3	78 {33.6}	137 {59.1}	232 (100)	1.52
		3 {27.3}	4 {36.3}	4 {36.4}	11 (100)	1.09
1	Down Stable Up	7 {22.6}	12 {38.7}	12 {38.7}	31 (100)	1.16
		44 {19.9}	78 {35.3}	99 {44.8}	221 (100)	1.25
		3 {10.0}	10 {33.3}	17 {56.7}	30 (100)	1.47
2	Down Stable Up	8 {24.2}	18 {54.6}	7 {21.2}	33 (100)	.97
		41 {22.0}	77 {41.4}	68 {36.6}	186 (100)	1.15
		18 {26.1}	25 {36.2}	26 {37.7}	69 (100)	1.12
3	Down Stable Up	10 {29.4}	14 {41.2}	10 {29.4}	34 (100)	1.00
		59 {33.3}	69 {39.0}	49 {27.7}	177 (100)	.94
		43 {40.6}	39 {36.8}	24 {22.6}	106 (100)	.82
(High) 4	Down Stable Up	3 {27.3}	5 {45.4}	3 {27.3}	11 (100)	1.00
		44 {32.1}	64 {46.7}	29 {21.2}	137 (100)	.89
		34 {30.1}	49 {43.4}	30 {26.5}	113 (100)	.96

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were absent from the meeting.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were absent from the meeting.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were absent from the meeting.

Table 66: Social Mobility by Powerlessness-Normlessness at Each Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Social Mobility	POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS							Total N (%)	Row X̄
		(Low) 0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	(High) 4 N (%)				
(Low) 0	Down Stable Up	0 ( 0.0)	1 ( 8.3)	3 (24.0)	7 (58.3)	1 ( 8.4)	12 (100)	2.67		
		4 ( 1.7)	25 (10.8)	56 (24.3)	70 (30.3)	76 (32.9)	231 (100)	2.82		
		1 ( 9.1)	0 ( 0.0)	4 (36.4)	4 (36.4)	2 (18.2)	11 (100)	2.55		
1	Down Stable Up	5 (16.7)	5 (16.7)	7 (23.2)	8 (26.7)	5 (16.7)	30 (100)	2.10		
		15 ( 6.8)	38 (17.4)	71 (32.4)	61 (29.9)	34 (15.5)	219 (100)	2.28		
		1 ( 3.4)	4 (13.3)	3 (10.0)	12 (40.0)	10 (33.3)	30 (100)	2.87		
2	Down Stable Up	1 ( 3.0)	10 (30.3)	14 (42.4)	5 (15.2)	3 ( 9.1)	33 (100)	1.97		
		13 ( 7.0)	32 (17.3)	68 (36.8)	46 (24.9)	26 (14.0)	185 (100)	2.22		
		6 ( 8.7)	12 (17.4)	18 (26.1)	27 (39.1)	6 ( 8.7)	69 (100)	2.22		
3	Down Stable Up	5 (14.7)	8 (23.5)	13 (38.3)	5 (14.7)	3 ( 8.8)	34 (100)	1.79		
		16 ( 9.1)	38 (21.6)	70 (39.8)	38 (21.6)	14 ( 7.9)	176 (100)	1.98		
		13 (12.3)	29 (27.3)	35 (33.0)	25 (23.6)	4 ( 3.8)	106 (100)	1.79		
(High) 4	Down Stable Up	0 ( 0.0)	4 (36.3)	3 (27.3)	3 (27.3)	1 ( 9.1)	11 (100)	2.09		
		12 ( 8.8)	38 (28.0)	55 (40.4)	26 (19.1)	5 ( 3.7)	136 (100)	1.81		
		11 ( 9.7)	27 (23.9)	42 (37.2)	30 (26.5)	3 ( 2.7)	113 (100)	1.88		



Table 67: Social Mobility by Present Standing  
at Each Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Social Mobility	Mean PRESENT STANDING
(Low) 0	Down	5.77
	Stable	6.52
	Up	6.73
1	Down	6.61
	Stable	6.57
	Up	6.40
2	Down	6.63
	Stable	6.67
	Up	7.10
3	Down	7.24
	Stable	7.19
	Up	7.17
(High) 4	Down	7.64
	Stable	7.13
	Up	7.04

Table 68: Social Mobility by Future Orientation at Each  
Level of Average Status

Average Status Control	Social Mobility	FUTURE ORIENTATION			Total N (%)	Row $\bar{X}$
		Pessimistic (0)	Status Quo (1)	Optimistic (2)		
		N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		
(Low) 0	Down	1 (7.7)	8 (61.5)	4 (30.8)	13 (100)	1.23
	Stable	24 (10.7)	90 (40.2)	110 (49.1)	224 (100)	1.38
	Up	0 (0.0)	7 (70.0)	3 (30.0)	10 (100)	1.30
1	Down	5 (16.1)	12 (38.7)	14 (45.2)	31 (100)	1.29
	Stable	19 (8.9)	96 (45.1)	98 (46.0)	213 (100)	1.37
	Up	1 (3.9)	14 (53.8)	11 (42.3)	26 (100)	1.38
2	Down	2 (6.2)	19 (59.4)	11 (34.4)	32 (100)	1.28
	Stable	9 (4.9)	79 (42.9)	96 (52.2)	184 (100)	1.47
	Up	6 (9.2)	29 (44.6)	30 (46.2)	65 (100)	1.37
3	Down	1 (2.9)	19 (55.9)	14 (41.2)	34 (100)	1.38
	Stable	12 (7.0)	59 (34.3)	101 (58.7)	172 (100)	1.52
	Up	6 (5.7)	41 (38.7)	59 (55.6)	106 (100)	1.50
(High) 4	Down	0 (0.0)	4 (36.4)	7 (63.6)	11 (100)	1.64
	Stable	7 (5.3)	45 (34.1)	80 (60.6)	132 (100)	1.55
	Up	6 (5.4)	36 (32.4)	69 (62.2)	111 (100)	1.57

due to the effect of AS. Tables 58, 61 and 62 reveal no consistent patterns. Our conclusion, then, is that SM may be related to alienation, but that this pattern may also be accounted for by AS.

An inspection of Tables 63-68 reveals that no consistent relationship exists between SM and alienation when AS is controlled. When taken in context of the previous set of tables, it becomes obvious that AS accounts for the previous relationship of SM to alienation, i.e., because "Stable" persons are also the ones with the lowest AS. This pattern is retained, however, at the lowest level of status. (At the lowest level of status, those persons who are "Stable" are the most alienated, when, given the control for AS, we would not expect this.) It may be that those persons in this lowest AS stratum who are downwardly mobile remember what it was like (when they were kids), and those who are upwardly mobile think that they will get out, and, therefore, do not become alienated. This is not, however, borne out in Table 68, where the low AS "Stable" persons have the highest percentage of people in the "Optimistic" category, whereas— if our speculations are correct—we should expect that the "Up" SM group would have the highest percentage. It may be, then, that this "exception" is only a chance exception.

In summary, we must note that of all three independent variables, it is clear that AS is the only one that is consistently related to alienation, and that if the other two variables (SM and SI) are related to alienation, it is due to the confounding



effect of AS. Before we can state definite conclusions, however, we should examine the third order tables to see if the above relationships—and the lack of relationships—obtain.

### Third Order Control Relationships

#### Introduction

In this section, we shall examine the relationship of each of our three independent variables to our dependent variables, while controlling for the other two, e.g., we shall examine the AS relationships while controlling for SM and SI simultaneously, etc. Because each of these tables will produce 45 rows and, consequently, a huge number of cells (495 cells in the case of PS), we shall present only the row means, or the means of the dependent variable for each level (row) of the independent variable and its controls.

In creating these tables, we might note that it is only necessary to create one "set" of tables for each independent variable. For example, using AS as the primary control and SM as the secondary control, is (with respect to the order of SI) equivalent to using SM as the primary control and AS as the secondary control. That is, shifting primary and secondary controls does not alter the arrangement of rows in the SI-dependent variable sub-table (see Figure 1). For these reasons, then, only one set of tables will be presented, for each independent variable.

In terms of analysis, we shall inspect each sub-table, i.e., the table listing the relationship between the independent

Figure 1: Two Tables Illustrating Similarity of Various Control Variable Arrangements

Dependent Variable						Dependent Variable									
AS	SM	SI	0	1	2	SM	AS	SI	0	1	2				
0	D	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 1 & 2 & 3 \\ 1 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\ 2 & 7 & 8 & 9 \end{pmatrix}$				0	$\rightarrow$	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 1 & 2 & 3 \\ 1 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\ 2 & 7 & 8 & 9 \end{pmatrix}$							
		S	0	10	11			12	1	$\rightarrow$	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 28 & 29 & 30 \\ 1 & 31 & 32 & 33 \\ 2 & 34 & 35 & 36 \end{pmatrix}$				
			1	13	14			15			D	0			
	2	16	17	18	2	1									
	U	0	19	20	21	2	2								
		1	22	23	24										
		2	25	26	27										
	1	D	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 28 & 29 & 30 \\ 1 & 31 & 32 & 33 \\ 2 & 34 & 35 & 36 \end{pmatrix}$				3	$\rightarrow$	$\begin{pmatrix} 0 & 1 & 2 & 3 \\ 1 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\ 2 & 7 & 8 & 9 \end{pmatrix}$						
			S	0	37	38			39	4	4	0			
				1	40	41			42			1			
2		43	44	45	2	2									
U		0	46	47	48	5	5	0							
		1	49	50	51			1							
		2	52	53	54			2							
etc.						etc.									

variable and the dependent variable at each level of the two control variables taken together. Then, we shall attempt to make some statement referring to the presence or absence of a consistent pattern throughout all or a majority of the sub-tables. That is, if a table contains nine sub-tables (as does the AS-dependent variable, controlled for SI and SM), then a consistent pattern should ideally be present in all nine of the tables; we shall modify this, however, and expect only a "large majority" of consistent patterns throughout the sub-tables. Obviously, the analysis will also be subject to other types of judgments, e.g.,

7

1

2

1

1

1

1

1

2

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

linearity, size of differences, etc. We shall endeavor to present these as explicitly as possible.

### Average Status

Tables 69-74 list the relationship of Average Status to the dependent variables at each level of Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility. This control set produces nine sub-tables, each sub-table listing the relationship of AS to a dependent variable. An inspection of these sub-tables reveals that in the majority of cases (from five of nine to seven of nine sub-tables), there is a very general linear relationship between AS and alienation, both in terms of the sub-scales and in terms of PS and FO. This does not, however, hold true for Social Isolation, where in only one of the nine sub-tables does a linear relationship hold true. Otherwise, no consistent relationship patterns exist between AS and SOI.

The creation of a table with 45 rows, however, also raises the possibility that some of the rows will have a relatively small N.<sup>3</sup> This is, in fact, true, and two rows have zero frequencies: "Low" SI—"Up" SM—"1" AS and "High" SI—"Down" SM—"High" AS. Others have frequencies as small as one, two, three or four (Table 69). A very small N produces a relatively high amount of variance, and an unstable estimate of the true population mean. When row means based upon an N of five or less were dropped, and then the linearity of the remaining means was inspected, it became apparent that a vast majority of sub-tables exhibited a general linearity—in most cases around

Table 69: Average Status by Powerlessness Means with Controls  
for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility

Status Inconsis.	Social Mobility	Average Status	Total	POWERLESSNESS Means
(Low) 0	Down	(Low)0	4	1.00
		1	2	.50
		2	4	.75
		3	16	.56
		(High)4	8	.50
	Stable	(Low)0	106	1.34
		1	26	.85
		2	25	.72
		3	50	.82
		(High)4	75	.68
	Up	(Low)0	1	2.00
		1	0	.00
		2	4	.75
		3	17	1.06
		(High)4	57	.65
1	Down	(Low)0	4	.75
		1	15	.87
		2	17	.47
		3	13	.54
		(High)4	3	1.00
	Stable	(Low)0	63	1.16
		1	83	1.01
		2	103	.98
		3	73	.88
		(High)4	43	.77
	Up	(Low)0	3	.67
		1	10	1.40
		2	25	1.00
		3	47	.77
		(High)4	40	.75
(High) 2	Down	(Low)0	5	1.00
		1	13	.85
		2	12	1.08
		3	5	1.20
		(High)4	0	.00
	Stable	(Low)0	65	1.15
		1	110	.99
		2	59	.88
		3	53	.83
		(High)4	18	.83
	Up	(Low)0	7	1.00
		1	20	1.00
		2	40	.98
		3	42	.57
		(High)4	16	.94



Table 70: Average Status by Social Isolation Means with Controls for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility

Status Inconsis.	Social Mobility	Average Status	SOCIAL ISOLATION Means
(Low) 0	Down	(Low) 0	.75
		1	1.00
		2	1.00
		3	.75
		(High) 4	1.13
	Stable	(Low) 0	1.19
		1	1.08
		2	.88
		3	.78
		(High) 4	.95
	Up	(Low) 0	1.00
		1	.00
		2	1.00
		3	1.06
		(High) 4	.91
1	Down	(Low) 0	1.50
		1	1.19
		2	.71
		3	1.08
		(High) 4	.67
	Stable	(Low) 0	1.10
		1	.94
		2	.98
		3	.96
		(High) 4	.98
	Up	(Low) 0	1.00
		1	1.00
		2	1.20
		3	1.06
		(High) 4	.83
(High) 2	Down	(Low) 0	.80
		1	.92
		2	.92
		3	1.00
		(High) 4	.00
	Stable	(Low) 0	1.00
		1	1.00
		2	.80
		3	1.02
		(High) 4	.72
	Up	(Low) 0	.86
		1	.70
		2	1.10
		3	.90
		(High) 4	.81

Table 71: Average Status by Normlessness Means with Controls  
for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility

Status Inconsis.	Social Mobility	Average Status	NORMLESSNESS Means
(Low) 0	Down	(Low) 0	1.75
		1	.50
		2	.75
		3	1.00
		(High) 4	1.00
	Stable	(Low) 0	1.49
		1	.73
		2	.88
		3	.78
		(High) 4	.86
	Up	(Low) 0	2.00
		1	.00
		2	.75
		3	.65
		(High) 4	1.07
1	Down	(Low) 0	1.67
		1	1.31
		2	.94
		3	1.00
		(High) 4	1.00
	Stable	(Low) 0	1.49
		1	1.25
		2	1.17
		3	.93
		(High) 4	.93
	Up	(Low) 0	1.33
		1	1.60
		2	1.08
		3	.96
		(High) 4	.80
(High) 2	Down	(Low) 0	1.00
		1	1.08
		2	1.08
		3	1.00
		(High) 4	.00
	Stable	(Low) 0	1.58
		1	1.37
		2	1.22
		3	1.11
		(High) 4	.94
	Up	(Low) 0	.86
		1	1.40
		2	1.18
		3	.74
		(High) 4	1.00

Table 72: Average Status by Powerlessness-Normlessness Means with Controls for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility

Status Inconsis.	Social Mobility	Average Status	Powerlessness-Normlessness Means
(Low) 0	Down	(Low) 0	2.50
		1	1.00
		2	2.00
		3	1.75
		(High) 4	2.00
	Stable	(Low) 0	2.86
		1	1.81
		2	1.84
		3	1.66
		(High) 4	1.79
	Up	(Low) 0	4.00
		1	.00
		2	1.50
		3	2.00
		(High) 4	1.91
1	Down	(Low) 0	3.00
		1	2.33
		2	1.71
		3	1.69
		(High) 4	2.33
	Stable	(Low) 0	2.65
		1	2.30
		2	2.37
		3	2.05
		(High) 4	1.91
	Up	(Low) 0	2.67
		1	3.30
		2	2.16
		3	1.96
		(High) 4	1.73
(High) 2	Down	(Low) 0	2.60
		1	2.00
		2	2.33
		3	2.20
		(High) 4	.00
	Stable	(Low) 0	2.91
		1	2.37
		2	2.10
		3	2.17
		(High) 4	1.67
	Up	(Low) 0	2.29
		1	2.65
		2	2.33
		3	1.52
		(High) 4	2.19

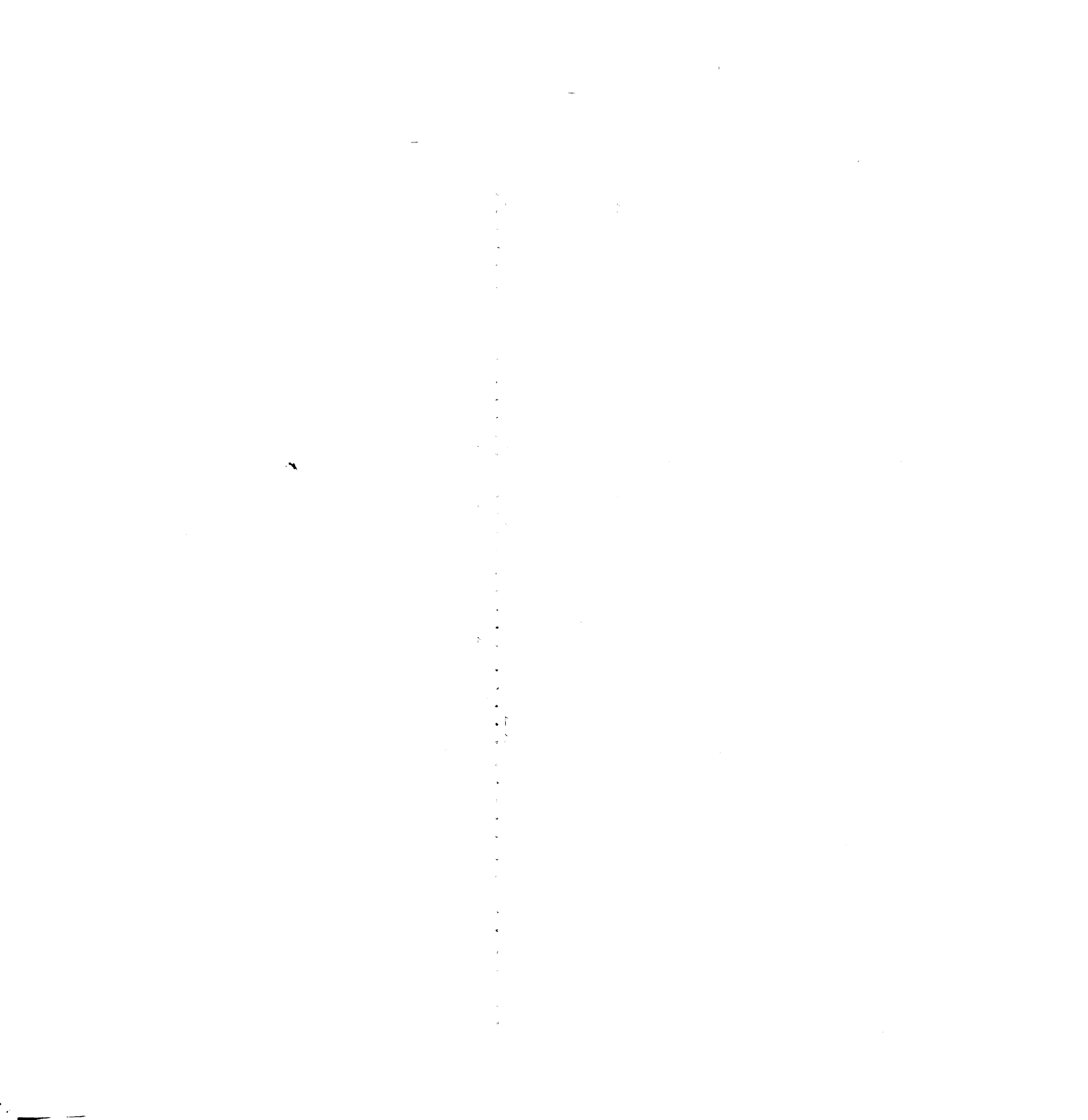


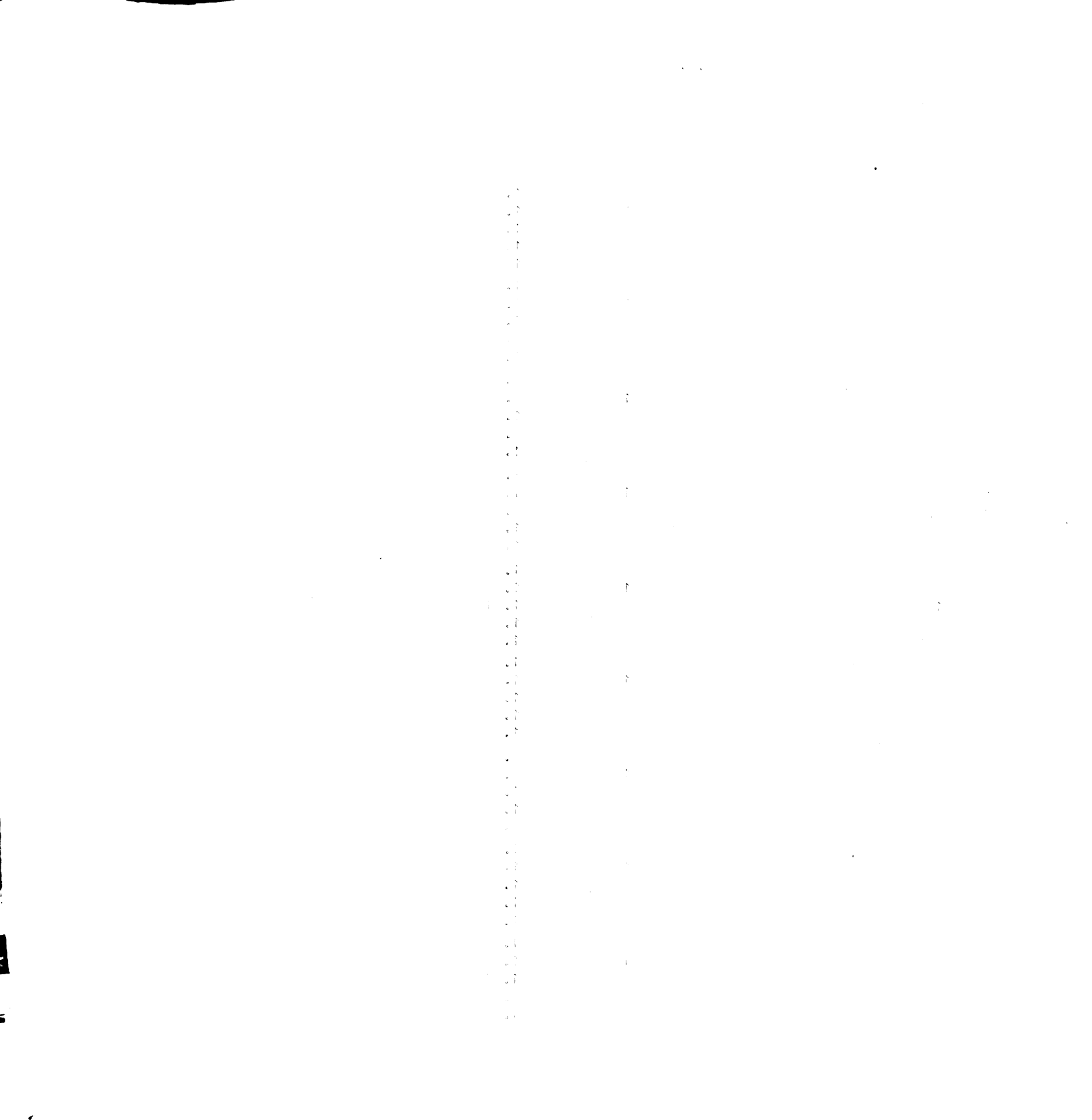
Table 73: Average Status by Present Standing Means with Controls for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility

Status Inconsis.	Social Mobility	Average Status	Present Standing Means
(Low) 0	Down	(Low) 0	6.25
		1	6.50
		2	6.00
		3	7.31
		(High) 4	7.75
	Stable	(Low) 0	6.45
		1	6.08
		2	6.56
		3	7.18
		(High) 4	7.23
	Up	(Low) 0	8.00
		1	.00
		2	8.75
		3	6.94
		(High) 4	7.11
1	Down	(Low) 0	3.75
		1	6.44
		2	6.65
		3	7.08
		(High) 4	7.33
	Stable	(Low) 0	6.57
		1	6.64
		2	6.55
		3	7.18
		(High) 4	6.76
	Up	(Low) 0	6.67
		1	6.90
		2	7.52
		3	7.28
		(High) 4	6.83
(High) 2	Down	(Low) 0	7.00
		1	6.85
		2	6.82
		3	7.40
		(High) 4	.00
	Stable	(Low) 0	6.59
		1	6.63
		2	6.93
		3	7.20
		(High) 4	7.56
	Up	(Low) 0	6.57
		1	6.15
		2	6.68
		3	7.14
		(High) 4	7.31

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Table 74: Average Status by Future Orientation Means With Controls for Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility

| Status Inconsis. | Social Mobility | Average Status | FUTURE ORIENTATION Means |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| (Low) 0          | Down            | (Low) 0        | 1.00                     |
|                  |                 | 1              | 1.50                     |
|                  |                 | 2              | 1.00                     |
|                  |                 | 3              | 1.44                     |
|                  |                 | (High) 4       | 1.63                     |
|                  | Stable          | (Low) 0        | 1.37                     |
|                  |                 | 1              | 1.44                     |
|                  |                 | 2              | 1.40                     |
|                  |                 | 3              | 1.58                     |
|                  |                 | (High) 4       | 1.46                     |
|                  | Up              | (Low) 0        | 2.00                     |
|                  |                 | 1              | .00                      |
|                  |                 | 2              | 1.50                     |
|                  |                 | 3              | 1.59                     |
|                  |                 | (High) 4       | 1.59                     |
| 1                | Down            | (Low) 0        | 1.50                     |
|                  |                 | 1              | 1.44                     |
|                  |                 | 2              | 1.47                     |
|                  |                 | 3              | 1.23                     |
|                  |                 | (High) 4       | 1.67                     |
|                  | Stable          | (Low) 0        | 1.38                     |
|                  |                 | 1              | 1.37                     |
|                  |                 | 2              | 1.51                     |
|                  |                 | 3              | 1.44                     |
|                  |                 | (High) 4       | 1.71                     |
|                  | Up              | (Low) 0        | 1.00                     |
|                  |                 | 1              | 1.44                     |
|                  |                 | 2              | 1.29                     |
|                  |                 | 3              | 1.49                     |
|                  |                 | (High) 4       | 1.60                     |
| (High) 2         | Down            | (Low) 0        | 1.20                     |
|                  |                 | 1              | 1.08                     |
|                  |                 | 2              | 1.09                     |
|                  |                 | 3              | 1.60                     |
|                  |                 | (High) 4       | .00                      |
|                  | Stable          | (Low) 0        | 1.40                     |
|                  |                 | 1              | 1.36                     |
|                  |                 | 2              | 1.44                     |
|                  |                 | 3              | 1.56                     |
|                  |                 | (High) 4       | 1.56                     |
|                  | Up              | (Low) 0        | 1.29                     |
|                  |                 | 1              | 1.35                     |
|                  |                 | 2              | 1.41                     |
|                  |                 | 3              | 1.48                     |
|                  |                 | (High) 4       | 1.40                     |





seven of nine possible tables, with SOI excepted, of course.

An inspection of the various levels of control across the various major tables also reveals that--with one exception--"error", or sub-tables in a level which did not fit our predicted linear pattern were relatively randomly scattered and not concentrated in any one level of control. The exception was for the "High" SI--"Down" SM sub-table which produced a linear relationship only with respect to Present Standing, and even then, linearity was based upon only two means, with the other three dropped for containing five or less cases. One might also note that there were only 34 persons at this level of control, so it may be a "deviant" case.

We would conclude, then, that AS is related to alienation, at all levels of control for SI and SM. We would note, however, that there is a relatively large amount of variance in these linear patterns, and that no statistical significance testing was done. If such a statistical test should be devised, it might prove that these generally linear patterns were only spurious, and insignificant. Until such a test is developed, however, we would maintain that the relationship does, in fact, exist.

#### Status Inconsistency

Tables 75-80 depict the relationship of Status Inconsistency to the dependent variables while controlling for Average Status and Social Mobility, simultaneously. This control set produces 15 sub-tables, with each sub-table listing the relationship of SI



Table 75: Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness Means with  
Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility

| Average<br>Status | Social<br>Mobility | Status<br>Inconsistency | POWERLESSNESS<br>Means |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| (Low) 0           | Down               | (Low) 0                 | 1.00                   |
|                   |                    | 1                       | .75                    |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.00                   |
|                   | Stable             | (Low) 0                 | 1.34                   |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.16                   |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.15                   |
|                   | Up                 | (Low) 0                 | 2.00                   |
|                   |                    | 1                       | .67                    |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.00                   |
| 1                 | Down               | (Low) 0                 | .50                    |
|                   |                    | 1                       | .87                    |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | .85                    |
|                   | Stable             | (Low) 0                 | .85                    |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.01                   |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | .99                    |
|                   | Up                 | (Low) 0                 | .00                    |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.40                   |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.00                   |
| 2                 | Down               | (Low) 0                 | .75                    |
|                   |                    | 1                       | .47                    |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.08                   |
|                   | Stable             | (Low) 0                 | .75                    |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.00                   |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | .88                    |
|                   | Up                 | (Low) 0                 | .72                    |
|                   |                    | 1                       | .98                    |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | .98                    |

(continued)

Table 75: (Continued)

| Average Status | Social Mobility | Status Inconsistency | POWERLESSNESS Means |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 3              | Down            | (Low) 0              | .56                 |
|                |                 | 1                    | .54                 |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.20                |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | .82                 |
|                |                 | 1                    | .88                 |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .83                 |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | 1.06                |
|                |                 | 1                    | .77                 |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .57                 |
| (High) 4       | Down            | (Low) 0              | .50                 |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.00                |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .00                 |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | .68                 |
|                |                 | 1                    | .77                 |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .83                 |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | .65                 |
|                |                 | 1                    | .75                 |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .94                 |

Table 76: Status Inconsistency by Social Isolation Means With Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility

| Average Status | Social Mobility | Status Inconsistency | SOCIAL ISOLATION Means |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| (Low) 0        | Down            | (Low) 0              | .75                    |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.50                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .80                    |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | 1.19                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.10                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.00                   |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | 1.00                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.00                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .86                    |
| 1              | Down            | (Low) 0              | 1.00                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.19                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .92                    |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | 1.08                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | .94                    |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.00                   |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | .00                    |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.00                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .70                    |
| 2              | Down            | (Low) 0              | 1.00                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | .71                    |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .92                    |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | .88                    |
|                |                 | 1                    | .98                    |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .80                    |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | 1.00                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.20                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.10                   |

(continued)

Table 76: (Continued)

| Average Status | Social Mobility | Status Inconsistency | SOCIAL ISOLATION Means |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| 3              | Down            | (Low) 0              | .75                    |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.08                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.00                   |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | .78                    |
|                |                 | 1                    | .96                    |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.02                   |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | 1.06                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.06                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .90                    |
| (High) 4       | Down            | (Low) 0              | 1.13                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | .67                    |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .00                    |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | .95                    |
|                |                 | 1                    | .98                    |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .72                    |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | .91                    |
|                |                 | 1                    | .83                    |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .81                    |

Table 77: Status Inconsistency by Normlessness Means with Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility

| Average Status | Social Mobility | Status Inconsistency | NORMLESSNESS Means |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| (Low) 0        | Down            | (Low) 0              | 1.75               |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.67               |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.00               |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | 1.49               |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.49               |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.58               |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | 2.00               |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.33               |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .86                |
| 1              | Down            | (Low) 0              | .50                |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.31               |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.08               |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | .73                |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.25               |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.37               |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | .00                |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.60               |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.40               |
| 2              | Down            | (Low) 0              | .75                |
|                |                 | 1                    | .94                |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.08               |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | .88                |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.17               |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.22               |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | .75                |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.08               |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.18               |

(continued)





Table 77: (Continued)

| Average<br>Status | Social<br>Mobility | Status<br>Inconsistency  | NORMLESSNESS<br>Means |
|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 3                 | Down               | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 1.00<br>1.00<br>1.00  |
|                   | Stable             | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | .78<br>.93<br>1.11    |
|                   | Up                 | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | .65<br>.96<br>.74     |
| (High) 4          | Down               | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 1.00<br>1.00<br>.00   |
|                   | Stable             | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | .86<br>.93<br>.94     |
|                   | Up                 | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 1.07<br>.80<br>1.00   |

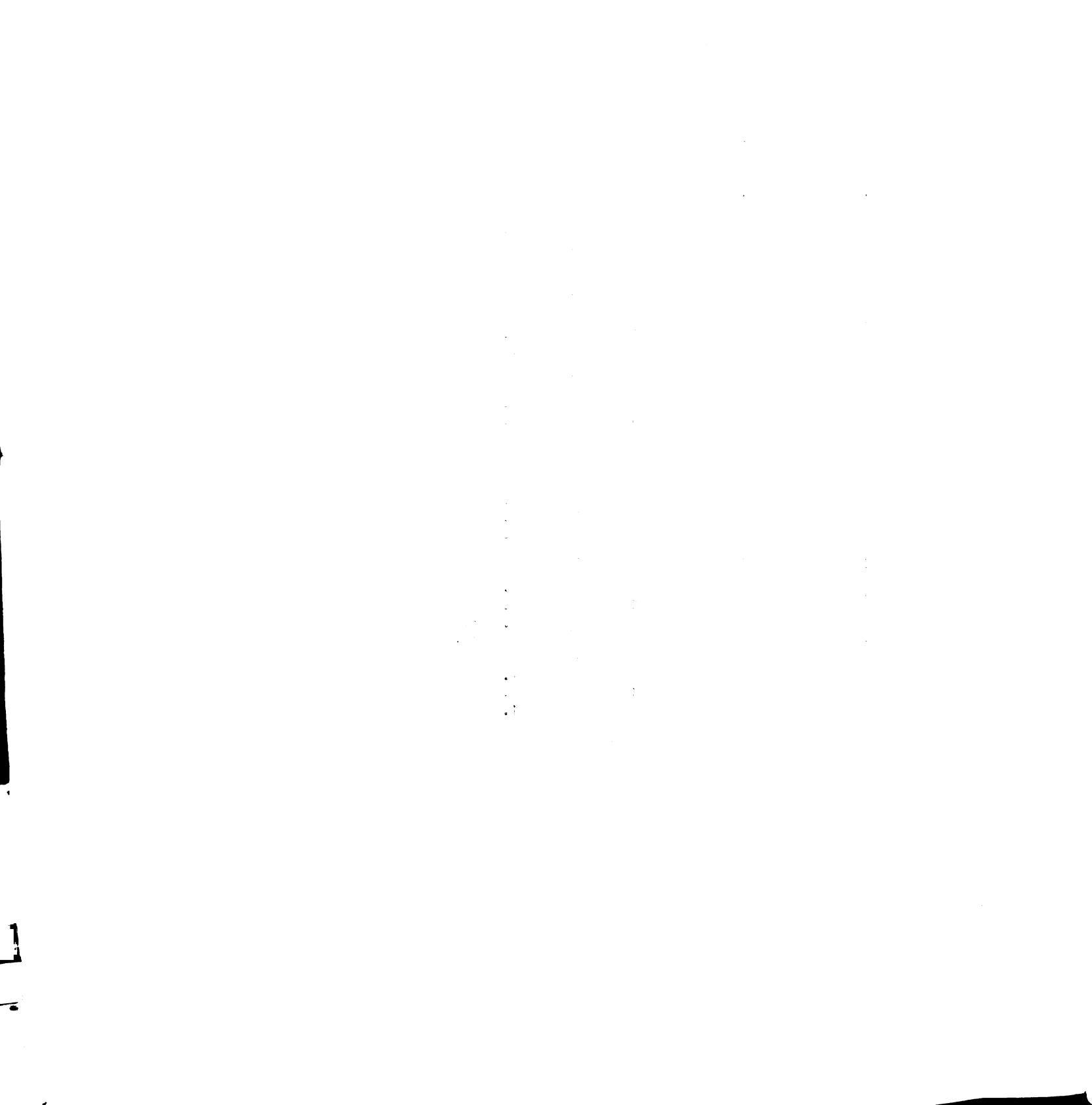


Table 78: Status Inconsistency by Powerlessness-Normlessness Means with Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility

| Average Status | Social Mobility | Status Inconsis. | POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS Means |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------------------|
| (Low) 0        | Down            | (Low) 0          | 2.50                             |
|                |                 | 1                | 3.00                             |
|                |                 | (High) 2         | 2.60                             |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0          | 2.86                             |
|                |                 | 1                | 2.65                             |
|                |                 | (High) 2         | 2.91                             |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0          | 4.00                             |
|                |                 | 1                | 2.67                             |
|                |                 | (High) 2         | 2.29                             |
| 1              | Down            | (Low) 0          | 1.00                             |
|                |                 | 1                | 2.33                             |
|                |                 | (High) 2         | 2.00                             |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0          | 1.81                             |
|                |                 | 1                | 2.30                             |
|                |                 | (High) 2         | 2.37                             |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0          | .00                              |
|                |                 | 1                | 3.30                             |
|                |                 | (High) 2         | 2.65                             |
| 2              | Down            | (Low) 0          | 2.00                             |
|                |                 | 1                | 1.71                             |
|                |                 | (High) 2         | 2.33                             |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0          | 1.84                             |
|                |                 | 1                | 2.37                             |
|                |                 | (High) 2         | 2.10                             |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0          | 1.50                             |
|                |                 | 1                | 2.16                             |
|                |                 | (High) 2         | 2.33                             |

(continued)



Table 78: (Continued)

| Average Status | Social Mobility | Status Inconsis.         | POWERLESSNESS-<br>NORMLESSNESS Means |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 3              | Down            | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 1.75<br>1.69<br>2.20                 |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 1.66<br>2.05<br>2.17                 |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 2.00<br>1.96<br>1.52                 |
| (High) 4       | Down            | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 2.00<br>2.33<br>.00                  |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 1.79<br>1.91<br>1.67                 |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 1.91<br>1.73<br>2.19                 |



Table 79: Status Inconsistency by Present Standing Means with Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility

| Average Status | Social Mobility | Status Inconsistency | PRESENT STANDING Means |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| (Low) 0        | Down            | (Low) 0              | 6.25                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 3.75                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 7.00                   |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | 6.45                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 6.57                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 6.59                   |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | 8.00                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 6.67                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 6.57                   |
| 1              | Down            | (Low) 0              | 6.50                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 6.44                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 6.85                   |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | 6.08                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 6.64                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 6.63                   |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | .00                    |
|                |                 | 1                    | 6.90                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 6.15                   |
| 2              | Down            | (Low) 0              | 6.00                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 6.65                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 6.82                   |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | 6.56                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 6.55                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 6.93                   |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | 8.75                   |
|                |                 | 1                    | 7.52                   |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 6.68                   |

(continued)

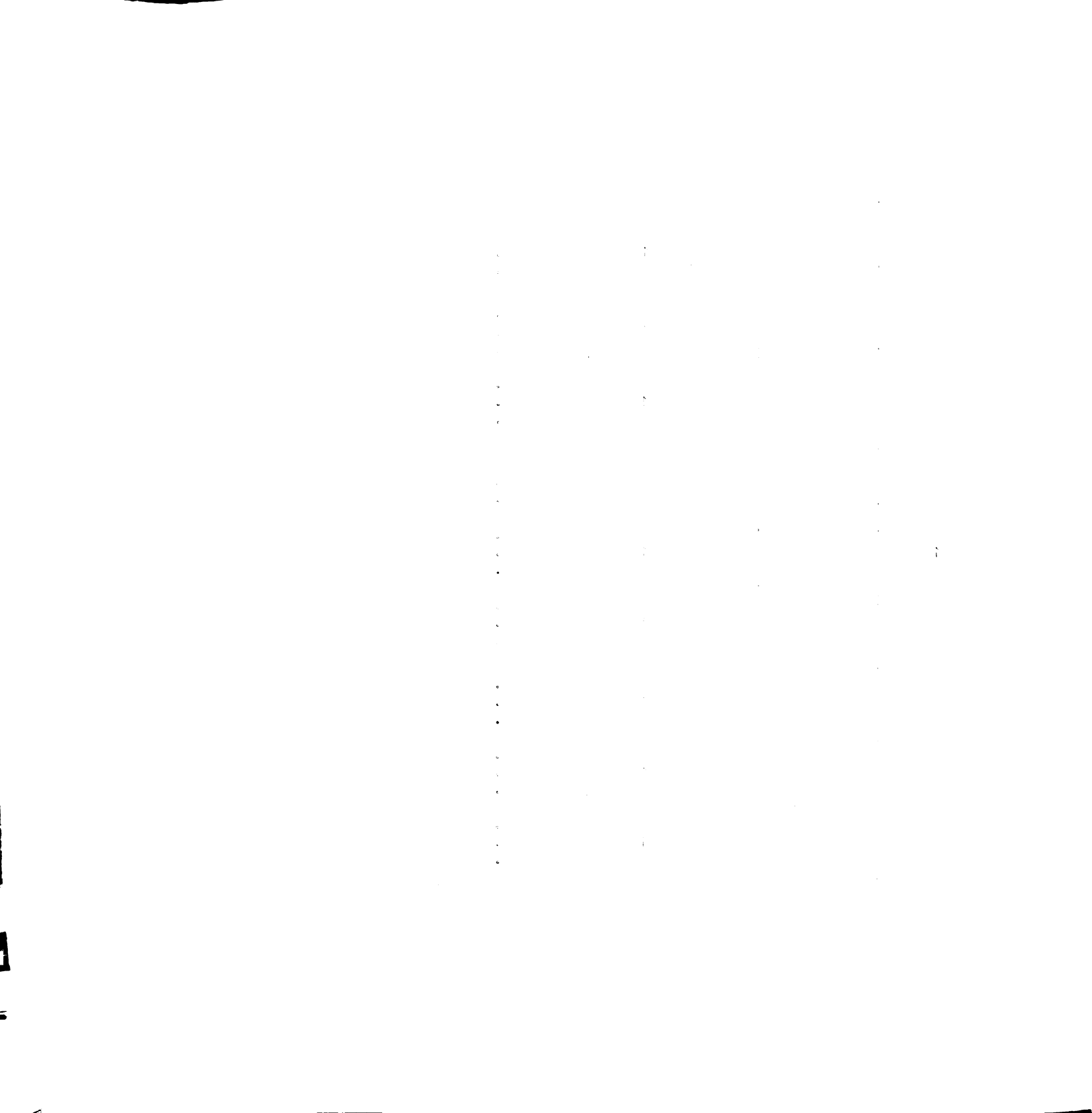




Table 79: (Continued)

| Average Status | Social Mobility | Status Inconsistency     | PRESENT STANDING Means |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 3              | Down            | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 7.31<br>7.08<br>7.40   |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 7.18<br>7.18<br>7.20   |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 6.94<br>7.28<br>7.14   |
| (High) 4       | Down            | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 7.75<br>7.33<br>.00    |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 7.23<br>6.76<br>7.56   |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0<br>1<br>(High) 2 | 7.11<br>6.83<br>7.31   |

Table 80: Status Inconsistency by Future Orientation Means  
with Controls for Average Status and Social Mobility

| Average<br>Status | Social<br>Mobility | Status<br>Inconsistency | FUTURE ORIENTATION<br>Means |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (Low) 0           | Down               | (Low) 0                 | 1.00                        |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.50                        |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.20                        |
|                   | Stable             | (Low) 0                 | 1.37                        |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.38                        |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.40                        |
|                   | Up                 | (Low) 0                 | 2.00                        |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.00                        |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.29                        |
| 1                 | Down               | (Low) 0                 | 1.50                        |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.44                        |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.08                        |
|                   | Stable             | (Low) 0                 | 1.44                        |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.37                        |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.36                        |
|                   | Up                 | (Low) 0                 | .00                         |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.44                        |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.35                        |
| 2                 | Down               | (Low) 0                 | 1.00                        |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.47                        |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.09                        |
|                   | Stable             | (Low) 0                 | 1.40                        |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.51                        |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.44                        |
|                   | Up                 | (Low) 0                 | 1.50                        |
|                   |                    | 1                       | 1.29                        |
|                   |                    | (High) 2                | 1.41                        |

(continued)

Table 80: (Continued)

| Average Status | Social Mobility | Status Inconsistency | FUTURE ORIENTATION Means |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 3              | Down            | (Low) 0              | 1.44                     |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.23                     |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.60                     |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | 1.58                     |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.44                     |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.56                     |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | 1.59                     |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.49                     |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.48                     |
| (High) 4       | Down            | (Low) 0              | 1.63                     |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.67                     |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | .00                      |
|                | Stable          | (Low) 0              | 1.46                     |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.71                     |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.56                     |
|                | Up              | (Low) 0              | 1.59                     |
|                |                 | 1                    | 1.60                     |
|                |                 | (High) 2             | 1.40                     |

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

to a dependent variable. An inspection of these sub-tables reveals no consistent patterning in these relationships. With the possible exception of Table 77, no table contains more than three sub-tables (of 15 possible) which run in the predicted direction. In Table 77, which indicates the relationship of SI to Normlessness, there are six of fifteen sub-tables which run in the predicted direction, with the lowest level of SI also having the lowest alienation mean, etc. This linearity does not, however, carry over into Table 78, which depicts the relationship of SI and the combined form of PN. Removal of means based upon five cases or less is not possible here, because this would leave one with only two means, which by definition would give one "linearity". Therefore, we are forced to conclude that there is no relationship between SI and alienation.

### Social Mobility

Tables 81-86 characterize the relationship of Social Mobility to the dependent variables at all levels of Average Status and Status Inconsistency. This control set produces fifteen sub-tables, each indicating the relationship of SM to a dependent variable. An inspection of these sub-tables reveals no consistent patterns. In the original first order tables, there were indications that those persons in the "Stable" group had higher alienation; however, this relationship disappeared when AS was controlled for at the second order, and it appears to disappear in these third order tables also. Some indications show that the "Down" group might be the least alienated; however, further



Table 81: Social Mobility by Powerlessness Means with Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency

| Average Status | Status Inconsistency | Social Mobility      | POWERLESSNESS Means  |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| (Low) 0        | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>1.34<br>2.00 |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .75<br>1.16<br>.67   |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>1.15<br>1.00 |
| 1              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .05<br>.85<br>.00    |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .87<br>1.01<br>1.40  |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .85<br>.99<br>1.00   |
| 2              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .75<br>.72<br>.75    |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .47<br>.98<br>1.00   |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.08<br>.88<br>.98   |

(continued)

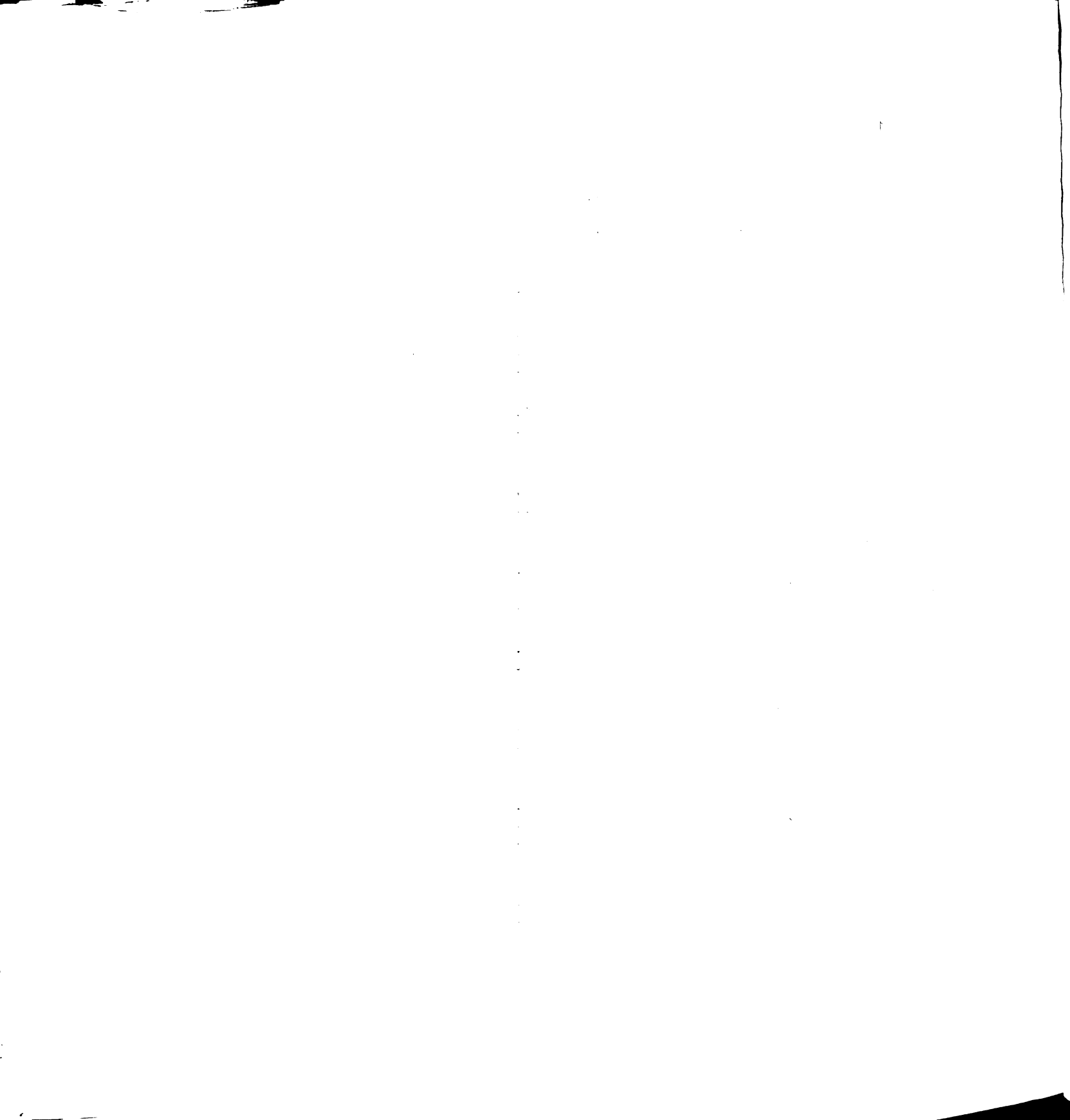




Table 81: (Continued)

| Average Status | Status Inconsistency | Social Mobility      | POWERLESSNESS Means |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 3              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .56<br>.82<br>1.06  |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .54<br>.88<br>.77   |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.20<br>.83<br>.57  |
| (High) 4       | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .50<br>.68<br>.65   |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>.77<br>.75  |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .00<br>.83<br>.94   |

Table 82: Social Mobility by Social Isolation Means with Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency

| Average Status | Status Inconsistency | Social Mobility      | SOCIAL ISOLATION Means |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| (Low)<br>0     | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .75<br>1.19<br>1.00    |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.50<br>1.10<br>1.00   |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .80<br>1.00<br>1.86    |
| 1              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>1.08<br>.00    |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.19<br>.94<br>1.00    |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .92<br>1.00<br>.70     |
| 2              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>.88<br>1.00    |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .71<br>.98<br>1.20     |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .92<br>.80<br>1.10     |

(continued)

Table 82: (Continued)

| Average<br>Status | Status<br>Inconsistency | Social<br>Mobility   | SOCIAL ISOLATION<br>Means |
|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 3                 | (Low) 0                 | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .75<br>.78<br>1.06        |
|                   | 1                       | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.08<br>1.96<br>1.06      |
|                   | (High) 2                | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>1.02<br>.90       |
| (High)<br>4       | (Low) 0                 | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.13<br>.95<br>.91        |
|                   | 1                       | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .67<br>.98<br>.83         |
|                   | (High) 2                | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .00<br>.72<br>.81         |

Table 83: Social Mobility by Normlessness Means with Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency

| Average Status | Status Inconsistency | Social Mobility      | NORMLESSNESS Means   |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| (Low)<br>0     | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.75<br>1.49<br>2.00 |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.67<br>1.49<br>1.33 |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>1.58<br>.86  |
| 1              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .50<br>.73<br>.00    |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.31<br>1.25<br>1.60 |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.08<br>1.37<br>1.40 |
| 2              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.75<br>.88<br>.75   |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .94<br>1.17<br>1.08  |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.08<br>1.22<br>1.13 |

(continued)

Table 83: (Continued)

| Average<br>Status | Status<br>Inconsistency | Social<br>Mobility   | NORMLESSNESS<br>Means |
|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 3                 | (Low) 0                 | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>.78<br>.65    |
|                   | 1                       | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>.93<br>.96    |
|                   | (High) 2                | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>1.11<br>.74   |
| (High) 4          | (Low) 0                 | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>.86<br>1.07   |
|                   | 1                       | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>.93<br>.80    |
|                   | (High) 2                | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .00<br>.94<br>1.00    |

Table 84: Social Mobility by Powerlessness-Normlessness Means with Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency

| Average Status | Status Inconsistency | Social Mobility      | POWERLESSNESS-NORMLESSNESS Means |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| (Low) 0        | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 2.50<br>2.86<br>4.00             |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 3.00<br>2.65<br>2.67             |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 2.60<br>2.91<br>2.29             |
| 1              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>1.81<br>.00              |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 2.33<br>2.30<br>3.30             |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 2.00<br>2.37<br>2.65             |
| 2              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 2.00<br>1.84<br>1.50             |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.71<br>2.37<br>2.16             |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 2.33<br>2.10<br>2.33             |

(continued)

Table 84: (Continued)

| Average<br>Status | Status<br>Inconsistency | Social<br>Mobility   | POWERLESSNESS-<br>NORMLESSNESS Means |
|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 3                 | (Low) 0                 | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.75<br>1.66<br>2.00                 |
|                   | 1                       | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.69<br>2.05<br>1.96                 |
|                   | (High) 2                | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 2.20<br>2.17<br>1.52                 |
| (High) 4          | (Low) 0                 | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 2.00<br>1.79<br>1.91                 |
|                   | 1                       | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 2.33<br>1.91<br>1.73                 |
|                   | (High) 2                | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .00<br>1.67<br>2.19                  |

Table 85: Social Mobility by Present Standing Means with  
Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency

| Average<br>Status | Status<br>Inconsistency | Social<br>Mobility   | PRESENT STANDING<br>Means |
|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| (Low) 0           | (Low) 0                 | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 6.25<br>6.45<br>8.00      |
|                   | 1                       | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 3.75<br>6.57<br>6.67      |
|                   | (High) 2                | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 7.00<br>6.59<br>6.57      |
| 1                 | (Low) 0                 | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 6.50<br>6.08<br>.00       |
|                   | 1                       | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 6.44<br>6.64<br>6.90      |
|                   | (High) 2                | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 6.85<br>6.63<br>6.15      |
| 2                 | (Low) 0                 | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 6.00<br>6.56<br>8.75      |
|                   | 1                       | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 6.65<br>6.55<br>7.52      |
|                   | (High) 2                | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 6.82<br>6.93<br>6.68      |

(continued)



Table 85: (Continued)

| Average Status | Status Inconsistency | Social Mobility      | PRESENT STANDING Means |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| 3              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 7.31<br>7.18<br>6.94   |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 7.08<br>7.18<br>7.28   |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 7.40<br>7.20<br>7.14   |
| (High) 4       | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 7.75<br>7.23<br>7.11   |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 7.33<br>6.76<br>6.83   |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .00<br>7.56<br>7.31    |

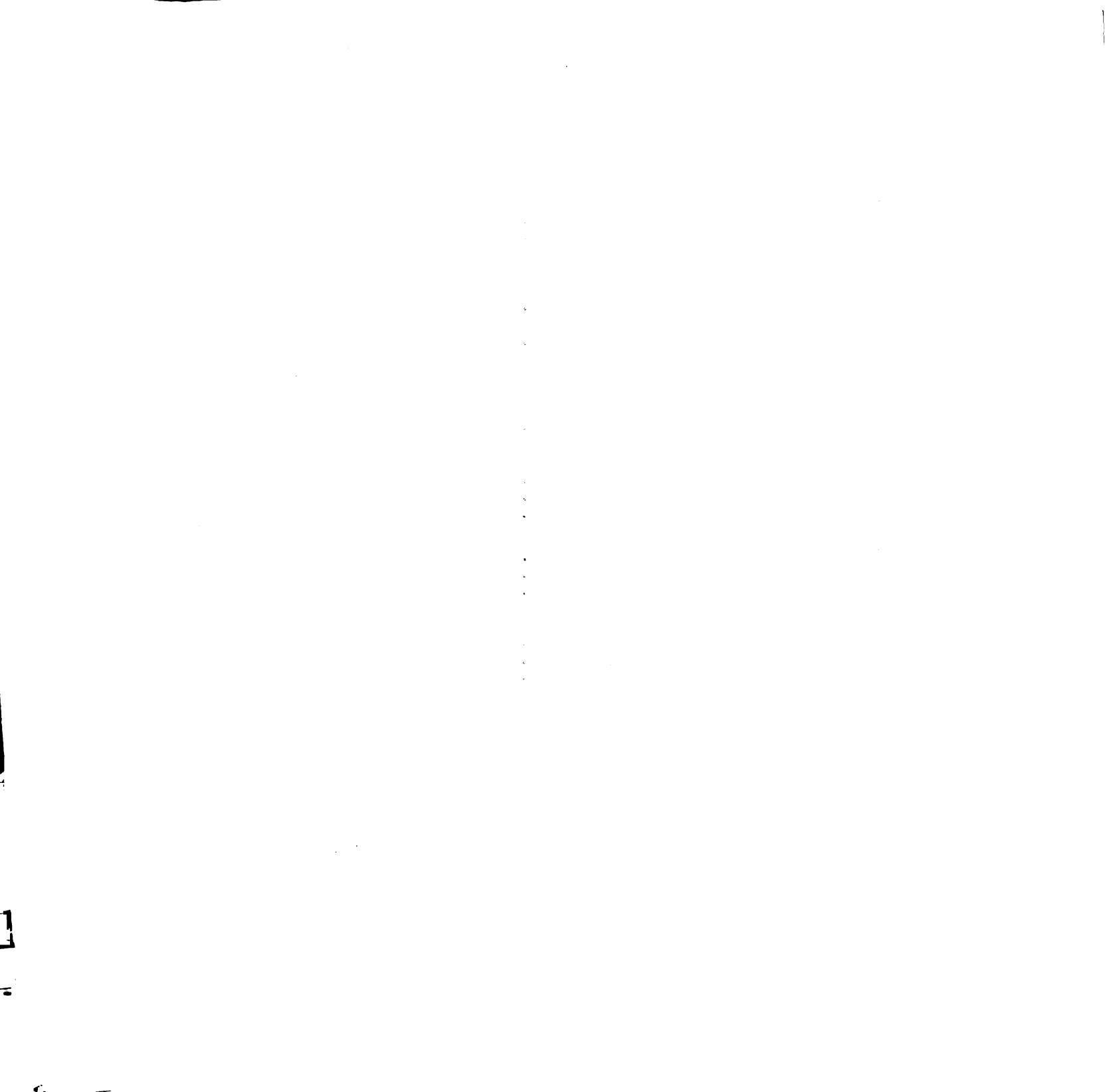
Table 86: Social Mobility by Future Orientation Means with Controls for Average Status and Status Inconsistency

| Average Status | Status Inconsistency | Social Mobility      | FUTURE ORIENTATION Means |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| (Low) 0        | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>1.37<br>2.00     |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.50<br>1.38<br>1.00     |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.20<br>1.40<br>1.29     |
| 1              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.50<br>1.44<br>.00      |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.44<br>1.37<br>1.44     |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.08<br>1.36<br>1.35     |
| 2              | (Low) 0              | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.00<br>1.40<br>1.50     |
|                | 1                    | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.47<br>1.51<br>1.29     |
|                | (High) 2             | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.09<br>1.44<br>1.41     |

(continued)

Table 36: (Continued)

| Average<br>Status | Status<br>Inconsistency | Social<br>Mobility   | FUTURE ORIENTATION<br>Means |
|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3                 | (Low) 0                 | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.44<br>1.58<br>1.59        |
|                   | 1                       | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.23<br>1.44<br>1.49        |
|                   | (High) 2                | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.60<br>1.56<br>1.48        |
| (High) 4          | (Low) 0                 | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.63<br>1.46<br>1.59        |
|                   | 1                       | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | 1.67<br>1.71<br>1.60        |
|                   | (High) 2                | Down<br>Stable<br>Up | .00<br>1.56<br>1.40         |



inspection reveals an approximately equal number of tables where the "Down" mobile group is most alienated, as well as more or less random relationships. Again, as in the previous SI tables, it is impossible to remove those levels which contain five or less cases, because this would result in linearity by definition. We are forced to conclude, then, that there is no relationship between Social Mobility and alienation that cannot be accounted for by reference to AS.

### Conclusions

Generally, this analysis found that the three independent variables of SI, AS and SM were inter-related, even when one variable is controlled for. This was taken as evidence for the necessity of control in any analysis attempting to utilize these three variables, and a validation of our previous attempts to demonstrate this need for control, logically.

An examination of the relationships among our dependent variables—principally that of PS and FO to P, N, PN and SOI—indicated that both PS and FO were related to our alienation sub-scales, but in different manners. First, SOI maintained a significant but curvilinear relationship to PS and FO, which was taken as some evidence for the separability and independence of SOI from other sub-scales of alienation. Second, PS was directly related to alienation, whereas FO maintained more of a curvilinear relationship. We interpreted this to mean that PS is part and parcel of our alienation phenomena, but that FO is somewhat different. However, this interpretation could not

be fully tested in this analysis.

An examination of our three independent variables, in terms of their relationship to the various indexes of alienation, indicated that AS was stably and consistently related to all but SOI. This was taken as evidence of (1) the separability of SOI, and (2) validation of our measures of alienation, i.e., that they are somewhat similar to those used by other persons, who also found alienation related to various measures of average status or social class. Finding that AS is directly related to FO also casts doubt on our previous interpretation of the nature of the relationship between FO and alienation. At this point, it would appear that FO—at least in terms of its relationship to AS—is of a somewhat similar character as our other alienation sub-scales. Finally, SM and SI were not generally related to alienation. The only consistent finding which emerged from these tables was that the "Stable" SM group was in almost all cases the most alienated. However, it was reiterated that these 'lack' of relationships were to be expected, and not regarded as a test of hypotheses.

The second order controls, however, must be regarded as partial tests of our hypotheses. These tables indicate that AS is related to alienation, but that AS and SI are not. The previously found relationships of SM to alienation is apparently accounted for by the effect of AS on SM.

This general finding was supported by the third order tables, where AS was again related to alienation, whereas SM and SI

are not.

With reference to our initial hypotheses, then, we are forced to reject them. We are left with the task of explaining the relationship of AS to alienation in some terms other than the traditionally used Durkheim-Merton rationale. This shall be the task of our final chapter.

### FOOTNOTES — CHAPTER III

1. Unfortunately, this type of control was not planned as a part of the original analysis, and the extreme amount of advance planning necessary for computer analysis made it difficult to do after the analysis plans were built into the computer.
2. Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, 24 (April, 1959), 189-201.
3. These totals are given in Table 69; because they remain the same for all other tables in this sequence, they are not repeated.



## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS

The basic problem of this thesis revolved around the Durkheim-Merton rationale underlying the theory of anomie, and its utility in explaining class differentials in anomie and other types of behavior labeled as pathological or adaptations to anomie. Basically, we argued that if this rationale did, in fact, account for the above-mentioned correlations—by reference to various structurally generated discrepancies—then it also should create correlations between alienation and other structurally-based sources of discrepancy, i.e., status inconsistency and social mobility. Hypotheses to this effect were developed. Our theoretical stance, then, gave us two alternatives, dependent upon whether these hypotheses were or were not rejected. First, if the hypotheses were not rejected, the theoretical interpretation would be that the Durkheim-Merton rationale was once more validated and extended to a new substantive area. Secondly, if the hypotheses were rejected, the theoretical alternative would then be to devise a schema which would explain alienation, as well as the correlations of alienation and average status, in terms other than that of the discrepancy rationale. At the same time, this theory must also explain the correlation between average status and pathological behaviors, and previous findings of correlations



between status inconsistency, social mobility, and pathological behaviors.

As was obvious in Chapter III, our hypotheses were not confirmed; therefore, the second alternative must be taken. In so doing, we shall first consider previous critiques of alienation and anomie theory, as they apply to any basic restructuring of anomie and social class theory. Then, we shall set about constructing a somewhat different approach to this matter. In this different approach, we shall consider alienation, stratification, mobility and pathological behaviors.

#### Critiques of Anomie Theory

As stated previously in Chapter I, most critiques of anomie theory do not take to task the basic mechanisms by which anomie (or anomia) develop—i.e., the discrepancy between that which is expected and that which is achieved. Rather, the major suggestions are that researchers look for sources of discrepancy other than the very general discrepancy occurring between mass-culture goals, and society-wide means of access to these goals. There is behind these criticisms a notion that each particular group, community, or organization has its own set of culturally prescribed goals (or better, sub-culturally specified goals), as well as its own stratification system which determines means of achieving those goals. A quote from James Short and his study of delinquency and gang boys in Chicago will perhaps exemplify this general type of critique:

Detailed observation of particular behavior episodes suggests that . . . the conception of social structure



which is basic to the [anomia] paradigm must be broadened to include situations which are more immediate to the boys, such as local community norms and opportunities, and normative and status considerations within the group, in addition to the abstract conceptions of opportunity structures and status deprivations.<sup>1</sup>

Our comment on this type of critique of anomie theory would agree somewhat with that of Cohen, namely that it produces an atomistic and individualistic view of man, a view that is distinctively non-sociological.<sup>2</sup> It places the brunt of "developing" anomie wholly "upon" the individual, in that he must first internalize certain social or cultural values (or sub-cultural or sub-sub-cultural values) which stand outside of him; go through a period of psychic conflict; develop anomie; and then act in an adaptive manner. It does not consider behaviors as a product of social relationships, but as individual properties.

Rather than elaborate in this vein, which is essentially a reduction to more and more microscopic levels, we would assume that this view has sufficient proponents. It will be our choice to develop (hopefully) a relatively new and different theory which approaches the problem via a concern with "society-wide" theory—perhaps an oblique approach in current sociology.

### Suggested Theory

We shall begin our explanation not with an understanding of anomie or alienation per se, but rather with an understanding of the nature of "social class" and its correlates. This, we hope, will allow us to then explain the function, or consequences, of alienation within this theory. Further, we hope that it shall also be possible to examine mobility, etc.

— The first of these is the fact that the  
— the second is the fact that the  
— the third is the fact that the

— the fourth is the fact that the  
— the fifth is the fact that the  
— the sixth is the fact that the

— the seventh is the fact that the  
— the eighth is the fact that the  
— the ninth is the fact that the

— the tenth is the fact that the  
— the eleventh is the fact that the  
— the twelfth is the fact that the

— the thirteenth is the fact that the  
— the fourteenth is the fact that the  
— the fifteenth is the fact that the

— the sixteenth is the fact that the  
— the seventeenth is the fact that the  
— the eighteenth is the fact that the

— the nineteenth is the fact that the  
— the twentieth is the fact that the  
— the twenty-first is the fact that the

We would argue that "class" constitutes not an aspect of social structure, or a part of a unidimensional or monolithic structure, but essentially different structures having different cultures. These different class groupings must be articulated by reference to some sort of common mechanism. Class, then, is not a continuum, with more or less ordinal rankings along it, but a set of different nominal distinctions. That these various nominally distinguished groups happen to correlate with ordinal measures (e.g., education, income, etc.) is a matter to be explained, not to be taken as given, and therefore used as indexes of a unidimensional social class variable. Literally, we will argue that "alienation" is nothing more or less than a part of a lower-class belief system.

This approach begins with the work and conceptualizations of Herbert Gans, who argues that the lower class is an isolated social system which exists within, but not as a part of, the urban milieu.<sup>3</sup> He argues that the lower class is characterized by a "village" style of life, with the most important groups being the neighborhood and the peer group. That is, these are the major groups in the lower-class person's life, and they dominate his view of the world. The lower-class view of the world has as its mainstay, personalism—a personalistic orientation. By personalism, Gans refers to the styles of relating to other objects and people in terms of their appeal or meaning to the person rather than to any abstract characteristics of the object itself. By personalism, Gans also refers to seeing other persons

the first of these is the fact that the  
the second is the fact that the  
the third is the fact that the  
the fourth is the fact that the  
the fifth is the fact that the  
the sixth is the fact that the  
the seventh is the fact that the  
the eighth is the fact that the  
the ninth is the fact that the  
the tenth is the fact that the  
the eleventh is the fact that the  
the twelfth is the fact that the  
the thirteenth is the fact that the  
the fourteenth is the fact that the  
the fifteenth is the fact that the  
the sixteenth is the fact that the  
the seventeenth is the fact that the  
the eighteenth is the fact that the  
the nineteenth is the fact that the  
the twentieth is the fact that the  
the twenty-first is the fact that the  
the twenty-second is the fact that the  
the twenty-third is the fact that the  
the twenty-fourth is the fact that the  
the twenty-fifth is the fact that the  
the twenty-sixth is the fact that the  
the twenty-seventh is the fact that the  
the twenty-eighth is the fact that the  
the twenty-ninth is the fact that the  
the thirtieth is the fact that the  
the thirty-first is the fact that the  
the thirty-second is the fact that the  
the thirty-third is the fact that the  
the thirty-fourth is the fact that the  
the thirty-fifth is the fact that the  
the thirty-sixth is the fact that the  
the thirty-seventh is the fact that the  
the thirty-eighth is the fact that the  
the thirty-ninth is the fact that the  
the fortieth is the fact that the  
the forty-first is the fact that the  
the forty-second is the fact that the  
the forty-third is the fact that the  
the forty-fourth is the fact that the  
the forty-fifth is the fact that the  
the forty-sixth is the fact that the  
the forty-seventh is the fact that the  
the forty-eighth is the fact that the  
the forty-ninth is the fact that the  
the fiftieth is the fact that the  
the fifty-first is the fact that the  
the fifty-second is the fact that the  
the fifty-third is the fact that the  
the fifty-fourth is the fact that the  
the fifty-fifth is the fact that the  
the fifty-sixth is the fact that the  
the fifty-seventh is the fact that the  
the fifty-eighth is the fact that the  
the fifty-ninth is the fact that the  
the sixtieth is the fact that the  
the sixty-first is the fact that the  
the sixty-second is the fact that the  
the sixty-third is the fact that the  
the sixty-fourth is the fact that the  
the sixty-fifth is the fact that the  
the sixty-sixth is the fact that the  
the sixty-seventh is the fact that the  
the sixty-eighth is the fact that the  
the sixty-ninth is the fact that the  
the seventieth is the fact that the  
the seventy-first is the fact that the  
the seventy-second is the fact that the  
the seventy-third is the fact that the  
the seventy-fourth is the fact that the  
the seventy-fifth is the fact that the  
the seventy-sixth is the fact that the  
the seventy-seventh is the fact that the  
the seventy-eighth is the fact that the  
the seventy-ninth is the fact that the  
the eightieth is the fact that the  
the eighty-first is the fact that the  
the eighty-second is the fact that the  
the eighty-third is the fact that the  
the eighty-fourth is the fact that the  
the eighty-fifth is the fact that the  
the eighty-sixth is the fact that the  
the eighty-seventh is the fact that the  
the eighty-eighth is the fact that the  
the eighty-ninth is the fact that the  
the ninetieth is the fact that the  
the ninety-first is the fact that the  
the ninety-second is the fact that the  
the ninety-third is the fact that the  
the ninety-fourth is the fact that the  
the ninety-fifth is the fact that the  
the ninety-sixth is the fact that the  
the ninety-seventh is the fact that the  
the ninety-eighth is the fact that the  
the ninety-ninth is the fact that the  
the hundredth is the fact that the



as more or less "whole" persons, rather than persons occupying a particular role. One interprets (and therefore understands) the actions of other persons by referring to the particular relationship that one has with the other.

Gans goes on to discuss the way in which these lower-class persons participate in the various institutions which surround the lower-class person, i.e., school, jobs, buying practices, etc. Although the lower-class person participates in these institutions, Gans indicates that it is in a manner that is radically different from the middle class. He argues, for example, that the lower class view their jobs not as careers, or as a phenomena which is valued in and of itself, but more as a means of getting sufficient cash to come back into the neighborhood.<sup>4</sup> In other words, those things that are important for the lower class are found in his neighborhood and his peer group.

Lower-class man, then, with his extreme neighborhood and peer group orientation, his personalistic orientation, and his minimal (and somewhat forced) participation in the major urban institutions, exists in a Gemeinschaft village located in the Gesellschaft urban milieu. This, in turn, produces a form of isolation from the rest of society. In his treatment, Gans devotes little explicit attention to the way that this stratification system is maintained, or to the place of the middle class in the society. And, his discussions of the institutional life of the lower-class person are, to some degree, dominated by the lower-class person's view, to the exclusion of the middle-class functionaries view.



Sjoberg, Brymer and Farris have extended Gans' view of the lower class somewhat and have developed a conceptual schema which contains general mechanisms which create and maintain the stratification system and the isolation of the lower class.<sup>5</sup> Generally, they argue that "bureaucratic systems are the key medium through which the middle class maintains its advantaged position vis-a-vis the lower class."<sup>6</sup> In effect, they are reversing the classic model of the relationship of bureaucracy and class. Rather than argue that social class creates differential participation in bureaucratic organizations, they contend that bureaucratic organization, as a central feature in modern industrial society, creates differential participation in organizations, which in turn creates and maintains a stratification system. Implicit in their presentation is the assumption that the major portion of American life proceeds through bureaucratized organizations, e.g., employment, education, government, buying, etc.

Staffing arrangements in bureaucratic organizations frequently place those least qualified persons in "hardship" or lower-class areas, so that lower-class clients receive the least possible benefits of the organization and, consequently, very few skills with which to escape the lower class. Bureaucracies, out of a necessity to maintain a successful image of themselves, vis-a-vis their supporters, frequently select those persons who are most likely to succeed rather than all persons who legitimately might participate in the organization. That is, the organization must

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text notes that without reliable records, it is difficult to track progress, identify issues, and make informed decisions.

2. The second part of the document outlines the specific steps and procedures for implementing a robust record-keeping system. This includes identifying the types of records that need to be maintained, determining the frequency of updates, and establishing clear roles and responsibilities for data entry and review. The document also highlights the importance of using standardized formats and templates to ensure consistency across all records.

3. The third part of the document addresses the challenges commonly associated with record-keeping, such as data loss, corruption, and unauthorized access. It provides practical advice on how to mitigate these risks, including the use of secure storage methods, regular backups, and access controls. The text also discusses the importance of training staff on proper record-keeping practices and the consequences of non-compliance.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the benefits of a well-maintained record-keeping system. It notes that accurate records can improve decision-making, enhance communication, and provide a clear audit trail. The text also mentions that proper record-keeping can help in identifying trends, spotting anomalies, and ensuring compliance with relevant regulations and standards.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed and offers final recommendations. It reiterates the importance of a proactive approach to record-keeping and encourages the implementation of the outlined steps and procedures. The document concludes by stating that a strong record-keeping system is a fundamental component of any successful organization.

exhibit a certain amount of goal attainment if it is to continue to succeed, so it selects as clients those persons who are most likely to succeed. And, these are very seldom lower-class persons (or, at least those persons who cannot succeed in the organization do not get the organizational benefits). Finally, the extreme specialization of any particular bureaucratic organization—both as an organization among organizations and within the organization—makes it somewhat difficult for organizational functionaries to view any particular client or production unit in a holistic fashion. Moreover, it prevents the bureaucratic functionary from taking the perspective of a client and from understanding the client's view of his own problems. Literally, the specialized organizational functionary may not even be able to see any problem from the lower-class persons' perspective. We would argue that this contributes to a maintenance of lower classness.

The lower-class person, who has little knowledge of the various informal and formal ways and by-ways of bureaucratic functioning, is then called upon to negotiate with that highly specialized lower echelon person who is most rulebound—and has little latitude in dealing with problems. And, if social problems are functionally inter-dependent, this means that the lower-class person must first negotiate a "deal" with the most rulebound person, and secondly, coordinate the various specialized functionaries and organizations to fit his particular needs. The middle-class person, by virtue of his middle classness and his

knowledge of bureaucratic modes of operation (derived from working in other bureaucracies) can go to a higher level functionary who has more latitude, and who can deal more effectively with any particular organizational problem that the middle-class person may have.

The lower-class notions of personalism run head-on into the bureaucratic norms of impersonality and universalism. Therefore, when a lower-class person "gets something" from an organization, he is likely to assume that it is because he had a personal relationship with the functionary; if he does not, rather than ascribing it to failure to meet an impersonal formal rule, he is likely to ascribe it to "fate", "luck", or "chance".

This inability of the bureaucratized organization to cope with the lower-class person—and vice versa—creates a vicious cycle of "circular causation", to use Myrdahl's term, which operates so as to create a relatively large amount of social distance between the middle and lower classes—or more aptly, the lower class and the rest of society.<sup>7</sup> In other words, the ability of operating in a bureaucratic organization (or conversely, the ability of an organization to respond to all types of persons) creates and maintains at least one class system which is isolated from the rest of the ongoing society. More characteristics and elements of this theory will become apparent later.

At first glance, the tentative theory under consideration would seem to be similar to those of Warner and Hollingshead when they refer to class as representing a "style of life", and to Oscar Lewis' conceptualization of a "culture of poverty".<sup>8</sup> Closer



inspection, however, reveals some crucial differences. The biggest difference does not lie in the cultural content or belief system described by these authors, for they would agree with our observations. Rather, the difference would seem to lie in the mechanisms whereby such a system is maintained or the logical order to such a system when counterposed with the other "cause or effect" variables.

Hollingshead, for example, would appear to view social class as primary, and differential participation in major institutions as a resultant of social class. This is nowhere more clear than in his work, Social Class and Mental Illness, where chapter after chapter is devoted to "the differential use of treatment facilities."<sup>9</sup> In terms of a dynamic, or a mechanism whereby class is created and maintained, Hollingshead would appear to rely upon a relatively vague notion of "cultural transmission", or "like father, like son." Lewis, while devoting much time to an insightful description of the cultural habits of poverty stricken people, likewise pays little attention to the dynamics creating and maintaining this culture. Generally, it would appear that he would subscribe to a definition of culture which views it as a form of adaptation to an environment, in this case a hostile environment.<sup>10</sup>

Our suggested theory resembles Seeman's theory, in our mutual reliance upon bureaucracy as an important factor in developing "alienation".<sup>11</sup> Seeman, however, does not discuss the role of social class as an intervening variable standing between bureaucracy and alienation, or for that matter, social class as a



1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and the role of the accounting department in ensuring the integrity of the financial statements. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in all financial dealings.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, including surveys, interviews, and focus groups. It highlights the importance of using a mix of qualitative and quantitative techniques to gain a comprehensive understanding of the research topic.

3. The third part of the document describes the results of the research, including the findings from the surveys and interviews. It discusses the implications of these findings for the organization and provides recommendations for future research and action.

4. The fourth part of the document concludes the report and summarizes the key findings and recommendations. It emphasizes the importance of ongoing monitoring and evaluation to ensure that the organization remains effective and efficient.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a detailed analysis of the data collected from the surveys and interviews. It includes a breakdown of the data by demographic group and a comparison of the results to previous studies.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the limitations of the study and the potential for bias. It acknowledges the challenges of conducting research in this area and provides suggestions for how to minimize these risks.

7. The seventh part of the document provides a detailed analysis of the data collected from the surveys and interviews. It includes a breakdown of the data by demographic group and a comparison of the results to previous studies.

8. The eighth part of the document discusses the limitations of the study and the potential for bias. It acknowledges the challenges of conducting research in this area and provides suggestions for how to minimize these risks.

9. The ninth part of the document provides a detailed analysis of the data collected from the surveys and interviews. It includes a breakdown of the data by demographic group and a comparison of the results to previous studies.

10. The tenth part of the document discusses the limitations of the study and the potential for bias. It acknowledges the challenges of conducting research in this area and provides suggestions for how to minimize these risks.

variable. Presumably, because of his "mass society" leaning, he would assume that all persons participating in modern life are subject to the whims of bureaucracy, and therefore to alienation. We might note, however, that his research has been carried out on, primarily, lower- and working-class subjects, if we can judge from the occupations of his subjects, e.g., those in a reformatory, working in the lower echelons of a state hospital, or in labor unions.

In summary, we are suggesting that stratification is created not by having education, money or a high prestige job, but by differential ability to participate in bureaucratic systems, as well as actual differential participation in these organizations. This differential participation creates—at least for the present analysis—two major groups: those who can and do, and those who cannot and do not. The former are middle class, and the latter are lower class.

Stratification, then, is a matter of a relationship—or the lack of a relationship—between a person and an organization entity, rather than an individual attribute. Because all persons must come into some kind of contact with bureaucratized organizations in his life span, bureaucracy can then operate to maintain stratification systems. Lastly, we might note that considering bureaucracy as the primary determinant of stratification places this theory firmly in a larger theoretical context (namely, the theories regarding societal evolution from folk to urban to urban-industrial as a consequence of technological innovations.) Presumably, bureaucracy is one of the primary



innovations which allowed industrialism to develop.<sup>12</sup> With this general and partial theory, let us re-examine the variables of alienation-anomie, the Durkheim-Merton rationale, status inconsistency and social mobility, as well as the pathological behaviors attributed to social mobility, status inconsistency and lower classness.

#### Alienation and Anomie

In terms of the simple correlations of various types of attitude scales purportedly measuring "alienation" or "anomia", we would argue that these are manifestations of aspects of the lower-class belief system. Rather than measuring "despair", as suggested by Meier and Bell, and Nettler, we would argue that they represent the consequences of a confrontation between a personalistic point of view, and impersonalistic bureaucracies.<sup>13</sup> It would seem more appropriate, then, to label this phenomena "fatalism" rather than despair, in that a fatalistic imputation is the mode of handling such incomprehensible events in a lower-class personalistic system.<sup>14</sup> One might suggest, at this point, that if the statements making up our (and other's) alienation scales had had as referents events revolving around a lower-class neighborhood way of life, there might have been much less alienation in the lower class. In fact, it may be that in this case the middle class would have been more alienated.

We might also comment on the lack of a relationship between the Social Isolation scale scores and Average Status. These



questions were phrased in terms of personal friendships, and feeling "all alone in the world." Given the lower-class orientation to neighborhood and peer group, it is hard to see how a lower-class person could ever be without personal friendships. As Gans points out, the lower-class person has his primary existence in these peer groups.

In summary, alienation or anomia, as indicated by various scales measuring powerlessness or normlessness, may be thought of as characteristic of a lower-class belief system. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of a more restricted conceptualization of alienation, particularly as used by Nettler and Hajda.<sup>15</sup> This conceptualization would deal primarily with the rejection of "culturally accepted goals", and is, to some degree, synonymous with Merton's designation of "retreatism" as a form of adaptation to anomia.

With respect to the discrepancy rationale underlying anomia, we might note that such a rationale is predicated upon the almost total acceptance of the culturally specified goals by a group, and, to the degree that we have argued for the presence of separate class and, thereby, cultural systems, it would be logically difficult for this complete consensus to occur. To this point, we are arguing with Hyman, when he attempted to demonstrate that various classes did not have a consensus with respect to goals.<sup>16</sup> Of course, Merton's class reply argued that only a significant number must have internalized these culturally specified goals in order for a significant amount of lower-class anomia, etc.<sup>17</sup>



We would suggest a different resolution to this problem, and ask how it is that a lower class can have a multitude of goals, i.e., both "middle-" and "lower-"class goals, and what effect this has. In our theory, we noted that the middle class is (as a group) in more or less control of the various bureaucracies with which a lower-class person must at some point in his life deal—however effectively. At the same time, the lower-class person looks to the neighborhood and peer group for his values and his life satisfaction. It would appear, then, that the lower-class person must interact with both lower- and middle-class persons, and to some degree have adequate knowledge about the values of both. The middle-class person, however (because of his advantaged position, which allows him to dictate the terms of his various negotiations with the lower class), does not necessarily have to take into account the values of the lower-class person. That is, the middle-class person does not have to take into account the lower-class person's values in order to pursue a successful career. In fact, it would appear more likely that he must attend to the values of the organization for which he works, which is very likely to be middle class.<sup>18</sup> If this is true, then, we should expect that when confronted with a range of values, the lower class will espouse more than will the middle class.

This is to some degree supported by Short in a study comparing the responses of middle- and lower-class adolescents to





various "middle-" and "lower-"class objects using a semantic differential technique.<sup>19</sup> Objects which might be classified as "lower" or deviant—e.g., 'dope addict', 'pimp', etc.—were almost uniformly negatively evaluated by the middle class, and were neutrally or positively evaluated by the lower class. "Middle-class" objects—e.g., 'stable job', 'teachers', etc.—were equally positively evaluated by both middle- and lower-class adolescents. How, then, can this seeming contradiction exist?

One possibility is suggested by Hyman Rodman, who has developed the conceptualization of the "lower-class value stretch".<sup>20</sup> Basically, Rodman argues that agreement with a wide range of values among the lower class is both functional for the lower-class's environment (i.e., the middle-class bureaucracies), and accompanied by a lower degree of commitment to either sets of values. Literally, Rodman is suggesting that the apparent discrepancy or contradiction is a product of a middle-class point of view, and that for the lower-class person, such a contradiction does not exist; it is a fact of life.

In effect, then, we are suggesting that what may be a discrepancy may exist only in the perspective of the investigator and, therefore, cannot be automatically assumed. If a discrepancy were in fact perceived by an individual, an anomic situation might result. However, this will have to wait further investigation.



Social Mobility, Average Status and Status Inconsistency

With respect to the three structural variables, we must first note that our suggested theoretical system places primary emphasis upon one's relationship with bureaucratic systems. Traditional indexes of social class or average status (and the derived concepts of status inconsistency and social mobility) must then be interpreted within this framework. For example, an occupation, per se, is usually carried out within a more or less bureaucratized framework, so that in order to hold a job, or advance to "higher" jobs, one must have some degree of skill at operating within a bureaucratic framework. And, those jobs which require more skills (bureaucratic or otherwise) are usually attributed higher prestige, pay, etc. One must also attend to the "education" variable, which, in this framework, would seem to have a dual effect. First, one must frequently have a certain level of education in order to hold a position in a bureaucratic organization. Second, those persons who work in purportedly non-bureaucratic settings are usually persons who are "professionals" (doctors, lawyers, etc.) although even this is changing more and more rapidly. And, in order to obtain professional legitimacy, one must pursue a relatively long and arduous career through the educational system, which in turn requires a certain amount of bureaucratic skills in and of itself. So, even for the professional, a certain amount of bureaucratic skills is necessary, so that bureaucratic ability may be a highly important factor which

1. The first thing I noticed when I stepped  
 out of the car was the smell of fresh  
 air. It was a relief after being stuck  
 in traffic for hours.

2. I walked towards the building, feeling  
 a sense of purpose. The sun was shining  
 brightly, and the birds were singing.

3. As I approached the entrance, I saw  
 a sign that said "Welcome". It was a  
 simple sign, but it made me feel like I  
 was in a new place.

4. I took a deep breath and walked  
 inside. The room was large and open,  
 with high ceilings and large windows.

5. I looked around and saw many people  
 working. They were all focused on their  
 tasks, and it was a good sign.

6. I went to my desk and started  
 working. The work was challenging,  
 but I was determined to do it well.

7. As I worked, I noticed that the  
 atmosphere was very professional.

8. I felt like I was part of a team,  
 and I was proud to be there.

9. The day went by quickly, and I  
 finished my work. I felt a sense of  
 accomplishment.

10. I walked out of the building and  
 looked back. I was glad I had  
 started this new job.

leads to other "indexes" of social class, e.g., money, etc.

Social mobility also takes on a different cast when viewed in this perspective, particularly in terms of the "causes" of mobility. Although Lipset, in his compendium on mobility in industrial society, recognized that "educational attainment is a major determinant of career patterns",<sup>21</sup> he does little to clarify or explain the particular mechanisms by which education operates so as to produce mobility, eg., "children from low-status families do not have as much chance to stay in school as those from high-status families . . . If an individual comes from a working-class family, he will typically receive little education or vocational advice."<sup>22</sup> That is, Lipset assumes that education is a key to mobility, but seems to assume that it operates to create mobility in such simplistic terms as vocational guidance, dropping out for economic reasons, etc. Further, "poverty, lack of education, absence of personal 'contacts', lack of planning and failure to explore fully the available job opportunities that characterize the working-class family are handed down from generation to generation."<sup>23</sup> We would also note that all of these reasons are somewhat individualistic in that they specify a failure of the individual as a reason for lack of mobility.

Education, in our theoretical schema, would imply not only learning of substantive studies, but also learning a series of bureaucratic skills, which are transferable to other bureaucracies, and which would presumably, increase the success one



might enjoy with those other bureaucracies. Because the educational system is one of the most heavily bureaucratized in modern society, and because every individual must at some time or other come into contact with it, the educational system is thus open to all, yet the most crucial and difficult of all to get through.

A myriad of mechanisms operates to differentiate between lower- and middle-class persons as they move through this educational bureaucracy.<sup>24</sup> First, we might note that the educational system is definitely a middle-class institution, if for no other reason than its staff. The lowest echelon person in an educational system is typically the classroom teacher, and she usually is required to have at least a college degree, and her occupational prestige is ranked in the middle to the upper-middle class. This in itself would make it difficult for the teacher to take the role of the lower-class pupil. Further complicating the matter is the notion that lower-class areas are frequently known as 'hardship' areas, and the worst or least experienced teachers are assigned to these areas (or are unable to get out), so that the lower-class child is confronted not only with someone who is middle class, but who is also the least qualified to handle his case. And, because the lower-class parent has had little experience with any bureaucracies, he is unable to negotiate with the school system on behalf of his child.<sup>25</sup>

One might also note, however, certain factors in the educa-





tional system which serve to reinforce mobility patterns.<sup>26</sup>

Once a child is implicated in the educational system, and experiences some degree of success in it, he is drawn away from the neighborhood and the peer group and the ties which tend to hold him in the lower class are loosened. Operating here, too, is the attitude of an out-of-school peer group to one of their members who is still in school. Generally, the student is the subject of some derision, and is given the label of a "square"; after a sufficient amount of time, the peer group begins to reject him, which leaves the student nowhere to go but back to the school for his social ties and reference group. Literally, the one who is mobile may be the deviant in the lower class.

This general interpretation is supported by Gans in his discussion of mobility.<sup>27</sup> He notes that those persons who leave the tightly knit neighborhood peer-group system are often viewed as 'traitors' or 'betrayers' of the correct way of life. A further distinction is added by his differentiation between group mobility and individual mobility. Group mobility usually has structural sources, e.g., the entrance of a new ethnic group on the scene, which moves the previous lower-class ethnic group up one occupational notch, or a period of rapid economic expansion, which allows everyone in this group to move up at once. In these 'group mobility' situations, there is little definition of each other as heretics. This would only occur with respect to individual mobility.



With respect to status inconsistency, this theoretical framework has little to offer. We note, however, that status inconsistency is predicated upon a definition of status in terms of multiple ordinally ranked dimensions. And, we have suggested that class is not a ranked order, but a nominal order, so that status inconsistency may be a spurious concept in a nominal system. Somewhat more positive, however, might be the suggestion to inspect various dimensions of status in terms of the degree to which they are either important or not important in structuring a person's relationship to bureaucracies. That is, we might inspect various combinations of status dimensions to see if they might not form particular "types" with a particular organisation, or kind of organization. Low ethnicity, for example, might create a peculiar kind of relationship to an organization which might not be created by low education, etc.

#### Pathological Behaviors

The pathological behaviors which are associated with class, and to some degree with social mobility and status inconsistency and which are interpreted as stemming from anomie, must also be reinterpreted within the light of our suggested theory. We would argue—as previously stated—that behaviors, pathological or not, are products of peculiar kinds of relationships between persons. Following Becker, we would note that someone, or some organization, must first define deviance, in order for it to exist.<sup>28</sup> The question would be to ask what kinds of relation-

ships between lower-class persons and bureaucratic organizations obtain so as to produce more definitions for deviance for the lower class than for the middle class.

Our theoretical framework would suggest two possibilities: first, that there is little actual difference in rates of commission of deviant acts between lower- and middle-class persons, but that the rate of definition by persons in positions to define is much higher for the lower class than for the middle class; and, second, following the notions of cultural differentiation, it may be that the lower class views as normal certain activities which are viewed by the middle class as deviant; this then produces conditions which lead to a higher rate of deviance or pathological behavior.

That there may be little or no class differential in commission of deviant behaviors is partially supported—at least with respect to juvenile delinquency—by a survey of delinquency studies using self-reports as the measure of delinquency. In this survey Hardt and Bodine state that:

Many studies have failed to demonstrate any association between the socio-economic status of juveniles and the incidence of delinquent behavior. <sup>29</sup>

That is, using the juvenile's own report of his delinquent behavior, rather than official records or statistics, leads to the finding that there are little or no differences between the classes with respect to delinquent behavior. However, when official statistics are used, a large difference is evident.



How this comes about has been suggested by Piliavin and Briar, in regard to delinquency, who note that a juvenile is much more likely to be picked up, as well as carried further into an "official career" by police officers, if the person exhibits those characteristics defined by police officers as "deviant".<sup>30</sup> These characteristics include many characteristics which could also be defined as lower class, e.g., sloppy dress, bad language, etc. Other types of studies, for other areas of "pathology" are also available.<sup>31</sup>

There is also the possibility that (given a large degree of cultural separation and isolation) what one class values, another class will consider deviant. And, if a group of people tend to define an activity as "normal", it is likely that they will carry it out in more or less "public" situations, which increases the likelihood that it will be observed by those persons who are charged with making definitions of deviance based upon middle-class standards, i.e., the police, educators, etc. Walter Miller has suggested this general line of argument of his article, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency".<sup>32</sup> Others supporting this view are Rodman, Becker, Finestone and Lindesmith.<sup>33</sup>

With respect to the tentative associations between social mobility and pathological behavior, we can only put forth a suggestion. First, we would note that these associations have been sometimes contradictory, and that, in this thesis, no association was found between social mobility and alienation, so perhaps there exists no reason for such an adaptation to





exist.<sup>34</sup> It may be, however, that distinguishing between group and individual mobility might be of aid. Gans suggests that those persons who are mobile as a group are not subject to any strain stemming from leaving the peer group, for everyone in the peer group advances at the same time as new ethnic groups enter the labor force, or as new areas of the economic system open up.<sup>35</sup> Presumably, the same mechanisms could operate with respect to group downward mobility. With respect to individual mobility, however, and especially upward individual mobility, the individual must literally leave the neighborhood and the peer group. And, he must suffer the rejection tendered him by his previous neighbors and peers. This may, in turn, produce a form of strain, which (while not necessarily a discrepancy) might lead to some form of adaptation or pathological behavior, especially mental illness or neurosis.<sup>36</sup>

#### Conclusions and Proposals for Future Research

We have tested a set of hypotheses couched in relatively traditional sociological theory and have found them to be rejected. Then, we have suggested two alternative paths: first, further forays and elaborations of the traditional theory itself, and secondly, development of a new theory. By personal inclination, we would suggest that the second alternative places sociological theory much more firmly in the larger context of how societies develop and are held together.



As for research, it would seem that there are several areas which take precedence at once. We have suggested that the middle class utilizes a bureaucracy in order to maintain its advantaged position; yet, there is very little direct evidence to support this contention. This, in turn, immediately raised the question of the place of an "upper" class in this schema, and its mechanisms of maintenance.

Also, the majority of examples in this paper are taken from the writer's own experiences and research in the field of delinquency. This would seem to point up the effect of bureaucracies in other areas of deviance, as well as the life cycle. For example, how does the adult come to be defined as mentally ill? Or as a criminal?

Lastly, there would seem to be an area of exploration in terms of the operation of the bureaucracy itself, and perhaps areas of modern life which are not yet (or are only minimally) bureaucratized. Accompanying such a study might be a comparison of client oriented bureaucracies with non-client oriented organisations. In any case, it is clear that much more empirical work must be done before this suggested grandiose theory can bear the explanatory fruit which will contribute to our understanding of the nature of social order.



#### FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

1. James F. Short, Jr., "Gang Delinquency and Anomie," Anomie and Deviant Behavior, Marshall B. Clinard (ed.), (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1964), p. 116.
2. Albert K. Cohen, "Toward a Theory of Deviant Behavior: Continuities Continued," Paper read before the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, California, August, 1963.
3. Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1965).
4. In this regard, Gans occupies a similar position to that of Robert Dubin, "Industrial Worker's Worlds," Social Problems, 3 (January, 1956).
5. Gideon Sjobert, Richard A. Brymer and Buford Farris, "Bureaucracy and the Lower Class," Sociology and Social Research, 50 (April, 1966), 325-337.
6. Ibid., p. 325.
7. Gunnar Myrdal, Economic Theory and Under-Developed Regions (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1957), pp.16-20.
8. W. Lloyd Warner, Et al., Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper, 1949), as well as other of his writings; August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958); and Oscar Lewis, The Children of Sanchez (New York: Random House, 1961); Five Families (New York: Basic Books, 1959).
9. Here we are using Hollingshead only as an example of a traditional approach. Many others could also have been used.
10. Oscar Lewis, op. cit.
11. Melvin Seeman and John W. Evans, "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting," American Sociological Review, 27 (December, 1962), 772-782; Melvin Seeman, "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," American Journal of Sociology, 69 (November, 1963), 270-284; and Arthur G. Neal and Melvin Seeman, "Organisations and Powerlessness: A Test of the Mediation Hypothesis," American Sociological Review, 29 (April, 1964), 216-226.
12. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds. and trans.), From Max Weber (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946); Gideon Sjoberg, The Pre-Industrial City (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960).

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text suggests that organizations should implement robust systems to track every detail, from small expenses to major investments.

2. The second section focuses on the role of technology in modern record-keeping. It highlights how digital tools and software can significantly reduce the risk of human error and improve the efficiency of data management. The author argues that adopting advanced technologies is not just a convenience but a necessity for staying competitive in today's fast-paced market.

3. The third part of the document addresses the challenges associated with data security. It notes that as more information is stored digitally, the potential for cyber threats increases. Organizations are urged to invest in strong cybersecurity measures, including firewalls, encryption, and regular security audits, to protect their sensitive data from unauthorized access.

4. The fourth section discusses the importance of training and education for staff involved in record-keeping. It states that even the most sophisticated systems are only as good as the people using them. Regular training sessions and workshops can help ensure that employees are up-to-date on the latest practices and technologies, thereby enhancing the overall quality and reliability of the records.

5. The final part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed and offers some concluding thoughts. It reiterates that maintaining accurate and secure records is a continuous process that requires ongoing attention and resources. The author encourages organizations to view record-keeping not as a mere administrative task but as a strategic imperative for long-term success.

13. Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, 24 (April, 1959), 189-202; and Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 22 (December, 1957), 670-677.
14. Other sources documenting this more or less fatalistic orientation may be found in Frank Riessman, Jerome Cohen and Arthur Pearl (eds.), Mental Health of the Poor (New York: The Free Press, 1964).
15. Nettler, op. cit., and Jan Hajda, "Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals," American Sociological Review, 26 (October, 1961), 758-777.
16. Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," Class, Status and Power, (eds.) Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 426-442.
17. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, revised edition (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957).
18. Sjoberg, Brymer and Farris, op. cit.
19. Robert A. Gordon, James F. Short, Jr., Desmond S. Cartwright, and Fred L. Strodbeck, "Values and Gang Delinquency: A Study of Street Corner Groups," American Journal of Sociology, 69 (September, 1963), 109-128.
20. Hyman Rodman, "The Lower-Class Value Stretch," Social Forces, 42 (December, 1963), 205-215.
21. Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), p. 197.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., p. 198.
24. Only a few of these mechanisms can be mentioned here. Others, as well as an analysis of other institutional operations with respect to the lower class, will be presented in a manuscript in preparation by Richard A. Brymer and Gideon Sjoberg, "Bureaucracy, Community and the Lower Class".
25. Sjoberg, Brymer and Farris, op. cit. Also of interest here are the reasons for which a child leaves school. Most often, economic reasons are given. Yet, a survey of the "dropouts" themselves indicates that first, many of them have positive feelings about the school, and second, few of them got jobs after dropping out. Their reasons for leaving school were that the school "bugged" them, etc. These findings might support the contention that the term "dropout" has been coined by educators, and is used to place the responsibility for leaving school upon the child, and thereby remove any blame from the

[illegible]



from the school, which also would allow the school to retain its "successful" image. See various articles in Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg, New Perspectives on Poverty (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965).

26. Materials presented in this paragraph were derived from the files of the Wesley Community Youth Project, Wesley Community Centers, San Antonio, Texas, where the author is currently research sociologist.

27. Gans, op. cit., Chapter 8.

28. Howard S. Becker, The Outsiders (New York: The Free Press, 1963).

29. Robert H. Hardt and George E. Bodine, Development of Self-Report Instruments in Delinquency Research (Youth Development Center, Syracuse University, 1965), p. 13.

30. Irving Piliavin and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles," American Journal of Sociology, 70 (September, 1964), 206-214.

31. Thomas J. Scheff, Being Mentally Ill: A Sociological Theory (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966); Hollingshead and Redlich, op. cit.; Riessman, Cohen and Pearl, op. cit.; Shostak and Gomberg, op. cit.

32. Walter Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, 14(1958).

33. Redman, op. cit.; Becker, op. cit.; Harold Finestone, "Cats, Kicks and Color," Social Problems, 5 (July, 1957); Alfred R. Lindesmith and John Gagnon, "Anomie and Drug Addiction," in Clinard, op. cit., pp. 158-188.

34. Lipset, op. cit., p. 71, notes that "while the notion that the socially mobile are more likely to be prejudiced against ethnic groups than the stationary has become rather common, the available evidence is quite ambiguous and cautions against any simple interpretation."

35. Gans, op. cit., Chapter 8.

36. Of all the various consequences of social mobility, mental illness is perhaps the most prevalent. See, for example, A. B. Hollingshead, R. Ellis and E. Kirby, "Social Mobility and Mental Illness," American Sociological Review, 19 (October, 1954), 577-584; Evelyn Ellis, "Social Psychological Correlates of Upward Social Mobility Among Unmarried Career Women," American Sociological Review, 17 (October, 1952), 558-563.

1. The first part of the document is a title page. It contains the title "THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" and the author "BY JAMES MADISON".

2. The second part of the document is a preface. It discusses the importance of history and the role of the historian.

3. The third part of the document is the main body of the text. It is divided into several chapters, each dealing with a different aspect of the history of the United States.

4. The fourth part of the document is a conclusion. It summarizes the main points of the text and offers some final thoughts.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of references. It includes a list of books and other sources used in the writing of the text.

6. The sixth part of the document is an index. It provides a list of topics and page numbers for easy reference.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of footnotes. It contains additional information and references that are not included in the main text.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of appendices. It contains supplementary material that is related to the main text but is not essential for understanding it.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of glossary. It defines the key terms and concepts used in the text.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of bibliography. It provides a list of sources used in the writing of the text.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Angell, Robert C. "Preferences for Moral Norms in Three Areas," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (May, 1962), 650-660.
- Becker, Howard S. The Outsiders. New York: The Free Press, 1963.
- Bell, Wendell. "Anomie, Social Isolation, and the Class Structure," Sociometry, 20 (June, 1957), 105-116.
- Benoit-Smullyan, Emile. "Status, Status Types, and Status Inter-relations," American Sociological Review, 9 (April, 1944), 151-161.
- Blau, Peter. "Social Mobility and Interpersonal Relations," American Sociological Review, 21 (June, 1956), 290-295.
- Bogardus, Emory. "Race Reactions by Sex," Sociology and Social Research, 43 (July-August, 1959), 439-441.
- Bordua, David J. "Juvenile Delinquency and 'Anomie': An Attempt at Replication," Social Problems, 6 (Winter, 1958), 230-238.
- Brymer, Richard A., and Sjoberg, Gideon. "Bureaucracy, Community and the Lower Class." Manuscript in preparation.
- Cantril, Hadley. "Hopes and Fears for Self and Country," American Behavioral Scientist, 6 (October, 1962), Supplement.
- Cartwright, Desmond S. "A Misapplication of Factor Analysis," American Sociological Review, 30 (April, 1965), 249-252.
- Clark, John P. "Measuring Alienation Within a Social System," American Sociological Review, 24 (December, 1959), 849-852.
- Cloward, Richard A. "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, Deviant Behavior," American Sociological Review, 24 (April, 1959), 164-176.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Ohlin, L. E. Delinquency and Opportunity. New York: The Free Press, 1960.
- Cohen, Albert K. "The Sociology of the Deviant Act," American Sociological Review, 39 (February, 1965), 5 (footnote 1).

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*) and *Chlorophyll b* (Chl *b*) were determined using a spectrophotometer (Shimadzu UV-1601) at 663 nm and 646 nm, respectively. The concentrations of Chl *a* and Chl *b* were calculated using the following equations: Chl *a* (mg/L) = 12.7 (OD<sub>663</sub> - 1.82 OD<sub>646</sub>) and Chl *b* (mg/L) = 22.9 (OD<sub>646</sub> - 0.22 OD<sub>663</sub>).

[illegible]

| Trial | Control | MCI | AD |
|-------|---------|-----|----|
| 1     | 95      | 85  | 75 |
| 2     | 95      | 85  | 75 |
| 3     | 95      | 80  | 70 |
| 4     | 95      | 78  | 68 |
| 5     | 95      | 75  | 65 |

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the *Agrobacterium* suspension on the transformation efficiency of *Agrobacterium* strains. The number of transformed cells was determined by the number of colonies growing on the selective medium. The results are the mean of three independent experiments.

• *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*) is the primary photosynthetic pigment in all photosynthetic organisms. It is a green pigment that absorbs light energy in the blue and red regions of the visible spectrum. Chl *a* is the most abundant pigment in the chloroplasts of green plants and algae.

.....

• — •

• - •

• **Prevalence** is the proportion of the population with a disease at a particular point in time. It is a snapshot of the disease in the population at a particular point in time. It is a measure of the burden of disease in the population.

| Trial | Control (%) | Alcohol (%) |
|-------|-------------|-------------|
| 1     | 85          | 75          |
| 2     | 88          | 85          |
| 3     | 90          | 80          |
| 4     | 92          | 82          |
| 5     | 94          | 78          |
| 6     | 95          | 80          |
| 7     | 96          | 82          |
| 8     | 97          | 75          |
| 9     | 97          | 80          |
| 10    | 98          | 85          |

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the *Agrobacterium* suspension on the transformation efficiency of *Agrobacterium* strains.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Toward a Theory of Deviant Behavior: Continuities Continued." A paper read before the American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Los Angeles, California, August, 1963.
- Curtis, Richard. "Occupational Mobility and Membership in Formal Voluntary Association," American Sociological Review, 24 (August, 1959), 846-848.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Occupational Mobility and Union Membership in Detroit: A Replication," Social Forces, 38 (October, 1959), 69-71.
- Dean, Dwight. "Meaning and Measurement of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 26 (October, 1961), 753-758.
- Dubin, Robert. "Deviant Behavior and Social Structure: Continuities in Social Theory," American Sociological Review, 24 (April, 1959), 147-164.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Industrial Worker's Worlds," Social Problems, 3 (January, 1956).
- Durkheim, Emile. The Division of Labor in Society. Translated by George Simpson. New York: The Free Press, 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Suicide. Translated by John A. Spaulding and George Simpson. New York: The Free Press, 1951.
- Ellis, Evelyn. "Social Psychological Correlates of Upward Social Mobility Among Unmarried Career Women," American Sociological Review, 17 (October, 1952), 558-563.
- Festinger, Leon. A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance. Evanston, Illinois: Row-Peterson, 1957.
- Feuer, Lewis. "What is Alienation: The Career of a Concept," in Sociology on Trial. Edited by Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.
- Finestone, Harold. "Cats, Kicks and Color," Social Problems, 5 (July, 1957).
- Gallup Organisation, Inc. Report to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Michigan State University. Princeton, New Jersey, March, 1964.
- Gans, Herbert. The Urban Villagers. New York: The Free Press, 1965.

[illegible]

- Gerth, H. H., and Mills, C. Wright (eds. and trans.) From Max Weber. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.
- Geschwender, James A. "Status Inconsistency, Cognitive Dissonance and Social Change." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, 1962.
- Goffman, Irwin W. "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," American Sociological Review, 22 (June, 1957), 275-281.
- Gordon, Robert A., Short, James F., Jr., Cartwright, Desmond S., and Strodbeck, Fred L. "Values and Gang Delinquency: A Study of Street Corner Groups," American Journal of Sociology, 69 (September, 1963), 109-128.
- Greenblum, Joseph, and Pearlin, Leonard I. "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice: A Socio-Psychological Analysis," in Class, Status and Power. Edited by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset. New York: The Free Press, 1953.
- Hajda, Jan. "Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals," American Sociological Review, 26 (October, 1961), 758-777.
- Hardt, Robert H., and Bodine, George E. Development of Self-Report Instruments in Delinquency Research. Youth Development Center, Syracuse University, 1965.
- Hollingshead, A. B., Ellis, R., and Kirby, E. "Social Mobility and Mental Illness," American Sociological Review, 19 (October, 1954), 577-584.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Redlich, F. C. Social Class and Mental Illness. New York: John Wiley, 1958.
- Hughes, Everett. "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," American Journal of Sociology, 50 (March, 1945), 353-357.
- Hyman, Herbert H. Survey Design and Analysis. New York: The Free Press, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Class, Status, and Power. Edited by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset. New York: The Free Press, 1953.
- Jackson, Elton F. "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, 27 (August, 1962), 469-480.

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •

• • • • •  
• • • • •



- Jackson, J. M. "A Simple and More Rigorous Technique for Scale Analysis," in A Manual for Scale Analysis; Part II. Montreal: McGill University, 1949. (Mimeographed.)
- Killian, Lewis M., and Grigg, Charles M. "Urbanism, Race, and Anomia," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (May, 1962), 661-665.
- Kornhauser, Arthur, Sheppard, Harold L., and Mayer, Albert J. When Labor Votes. New York: University Publishers, 1956.
- Kornhauser, Ruth. "The Warner Approach to Social Stratification," in Class, Status and Power. Edited by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset. New York: The Free Press, 1953.
- Landecker, Werner S. "Class Crystallization and Class Consciousness," American Sociological Review, 28 (April, 1963), 219-229.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul. "Interpretation of Statistical Relations as a Research Operation," in The Language of Social Research. Edited by Paul Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg. New York: The Free Press, 1955.
- Lemert, Edwin M. "Social Structure, Social Control and Deviation," in Anomie and Deviant Behavior. Edited by Marshall B. Clinard. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Lenski, Gerhard E. "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," American Sociological Review, 21 (August, 1956), 458-464.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, 19 (August, 1954), 405-513.
- Lewis, Oscar. The Children of Sanchez. New York: Random House, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Five Families. New York: Basic Books, 1959.
- Lindesmith, Alfred R., and Gagnon, John. "Anomie and Drug Addiction," in Anomie and Deviant Behavior. Edited by Marshall B. Clinard. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Lipset, Seymour M., and Bendix, Reinhard. Social Mobility in Industrial Society. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.



- MacIver, Robert M. The Ramparts We Guard. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1950.
- McClosky, Herbert, and Schaar, John H. "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy," American Sociological Review, 30 (February, 1965), 14, 19.
- McDill, Edward L. "Anomie, Authoritarianism, Prejudice and Socio-Economic Status: An Attempt at Clarification," Social Forces, 39 (March, 1961), 230-245.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Ridley, J. C. "Status, Anomia, Political Alienation and Political Participation," American Journal of Sociology, 68 (September, 1962), 205-213.
- McPhail, Clark. "Dogmatism, Religiosity and Alienation." Unpublished research report, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Self Identification Within a Specific Context of Experience and Behavior." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1965.
- Meier, Dorothy L., and Bell, Wendell. "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, 24 (April, 1959), 189-202.
- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. Revised ed. New York: The Free Press, 1957.
- Middleton, Russell. "Alienation, Race and Education," American Sociological Review, 28 (December, 1963), 973-976.
- Miller, Walter. "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, 14(1958).
- Misruchi, E. H. "Social Structure and Anomia in a Small City," American Sociological Review, 25 (October, 1960), 645-654.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Success and Opportunity: A Study of Anomia. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. Economic Theory and Under-Developed Regions. London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1957.
- Neal, Arthur G., and Rettig, Salomon. "Dimensions of Alienation Among Manual and Non-Manual Workers," American Sociological Review, 28 (August, 1963), 599-608.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The First Part of the Document", "The Second Part of the Document", "The Third Part of the Document", "The Fourth Part of the Document", "The Fifth Part of the Document", "The Sixth Part of the Document", "The Seventh Part of the Document", "The Eighth Part of the Document", "The Ninth Part of the Document", "The Tenth Part of the Document", "The Eleventh Part of the Document", "The Twelfth Part of the Document", "The Thirteenth Part of the Document", "The Fourteenth Part of the Document", "The Fifteenth Part of the Document", "The Sixteenth Part of the Document", "The Seventeenth Part of the Document", "The Eighteenth Part of the Document", "The Nineteenth Part of the Document", "The Twentieth Part of the Document", "The Twenty-first Part of the Document", "The Twenty-second Part of the Document", "The Twenty-third Part of the Document", "The Twenty-fourth Part of the Document", "The Twenty-fifth Part of the Document", "The Twenty-sixth Part of the Document", "The Twenty-seventh Part of the Document", "The Twenty-eighth Part of the Document", "The Twenty-ninth Part of the Document", "The Thirtieth Part of the Document", "The Thirty-first Part of the Document", "The Thirty-second Part of the Document", "The Thirty-third Part of the Document", "The Thirty-fourth Part of the Document", "The Thirty-fifth Part of the Document", "The Thirty-sixth Part of the Document", "The Thirty-seventh Part of the Document", "The Thirty-eighth Part of the Document", "The Thirty-ninth Part of the Document", "The Fortieth Part of the Document", "The Forty-first Part of the Document", "The Forty-second Part of the Document", "The Forty-third Part of the Document", "The Forty-fourth Part of the Document", "The Forty-fifth Part of the Document", "The Forty-sixth Part of the Document", "The Forty-seventh Part of the Document", "The Forty-eighth Part of the Document", "The Forty-ninth Part of the Document", "The Fiftieth Part of the Document", "The Fifty-first Part of the Document", "The Fifty-second Part of the Document", "The Fifty-third Part of the Document", "The Fifty-fourth Part of the Document", "The Fifty-fifth Part of the Document", "The Fifty-sixth Part of the Document", "The Fifty-seventh Part of the Document", "The Fifty-eighth Part of the Document", "The Fifty-ninth Part of the Document", "The Sixtieth Part of the Document", "The Sixty-first Part of the Document", "The Sixty-second Part of the Document", "The Sixty-third Part of the Document", "The Sixty-fourth Part of the Document", "The Sixty-fifth Part of the Document", "The Sixty-sixth Part of the Document", "The Sixty-seventh Part of the Document", "The Sixty-eighth Part of the Document", "The Sixty-ninth Part of the Document", "The Seventieth Part of the Document", "The Seventy-first Part of the Document", "The Seventy-second Part of the Document", "The Seventy-third Part of the Document", "The Seventy-fourth Part of the Document", "The Seventy-fifth Part of the Document", "The Seventy-sixth Part of the Document", "The Seventy-seventh Part of the Document", "The Seventy-eighth Part of the Document", "The Seventy-ninth Part of the Document", "The Eightieth Part of the Document", "The Eighty-first Part of the Document", "The Eighty-second Part of the Document", "The Eighty-third Part of the Document", "The Eighty-fourth Part of the Document", "The Eighty-fifth Part of the Document", "The Eighty-sixth Part of the Document", "The Eighty-seventh Part of the Document", "The Eighty-eighth Part of the Document", "The Eighty-ninth Part of the Document", "The Ninetieth Part of the Document", "The Ninety-first Part of the Document", "The Ninety-second Part of the Document", "The Ninety-third Part of the Document", "The Ninety-fourth Part of the Document", "The Ninety-fifth Part of the Document", "The Ninety-sixth Part of the Document", "The Ninety-seventh Part of the Document", "The Ninety-eighth Part of the Document", "The Ninety-ninth Part of the Document", "The Hundredth Part of the Document".

- \_\_\_\_\_, and Seeman, Melvin. "Organizations and Powerlessness: A Test of the Mediation Hypotheses," American Sociological Review, 29 (April, 1964), 216-226.
- Nettler, Gwynn. "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 22 (December, 1957), 670-677.
- Pearlin, Leonard I. "Alienation from Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," American Sociological Review, 27 (June, 1962), 314-326.
- Photiadis, John D., and Biggar, Jeanne. "Religiosity, Education and Ethnic Distance," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (May, 1962), 666-672.
- Piliavin, Irving, and Briar, Scott. "Police Encounters with Juveniles," American Journal of Sociology, 70 (September, 1964), 206-214.
- Rhodes, Albert L. "Anomia, Aspiration and Status," Social Forces, 42 (May, 1964), 434-440.
- Riessman, Frank, Cohen, Jerome, and Pearl, Arthur (eds.) Mental Health of the Poor. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Ringer, B. B., and Sills, P. L. "Political Extremists in Iran," Public Opinion Quarterly, 16 (Winter, 1952-1953), 689-701.
- Roberts, A. H., and Rokeach, M. "Anomie, Authoritarianism, and Prejudice: A Replication," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (January, 1956), 355-358.
- Rodman, Hyman. "The Lower-Class Value Stretch," Social Forces, 42 (December, 1963), 205-215.
- Rosenberg, Morris. Occupation and Values. New York: The Free Press, 1957.
- Sampson, Edward E. "Status Congruency and Cognitive Consistency," Sociometry, 26 (June, 1963), 146-162.
- Scheff, Thomas J. Being Mentally Ill: A Sociological Theory. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966.
- Seeman, Melvin. "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," American Journal of Sociology, 69 (November, 1963), 270-284.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Antidote to Alienation-Learning to Belong," Trans-action, 3 (May-June, 1966), 35-40.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions.

2. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in financial reporting.

3. The second section outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data.

4. This includes both qualitative and quantitative approaches to research.

5. The third part focuses on the challenges faced by researchers in this field.

6. These challenges include limited resources, time constraints, and potential biases.

7. Despite these obstacles, it is crucial to continue exploring new ways to improve data collection and analysis.

8. The final section provides recommendations for future research and practice.

9. It suggests that ongoing collaboration between academia and industry is essential for progress.

10. Overall, the document highlights the significance of rigorous data management and analysis in achieving research goals.

- \_\_\_\_\_, and Evans, John W. "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting," American Sociological Review, 27 (December, 1962), 772-782.
- Short, James F., Jr. "Gang Delinquency and Anomie," in Anomie and Deviant Behavior. Edited by Marshall Clinard. New York: Free Press, 1964.
- Shostak, Arthur B., and Gomberg, William. New Perspectives on Poverty. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.
- Simmel, Georg. "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in The Sociology of Georg Simmel. Translated by Kurt H. Wolff. New York: The Free Press, 1950.
- Simmons, J. L. "Some Intercorrelations Among 'Alienation' Measures," Social Forces, 44 (March, 1966), 370-372.
- Simpson, Richard L., and Miller, H. Max. "Social Status and Anomia," Social Problems, 10 (Winter, 1963), 256-264.
- Sjoberg, Gideon. The Preindustrial City. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Brymer, Richard A., and Farris, Buford. "Bureaucracy and the Lower Class," Sociology and Social Research, 50 (April, 1966), 325-337.
- Srole, Leo. "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, 21 (December, 1956), 270-284.
- Struening, Elmer L., and Richardson, Arthur H. "A Factor Analytic Exploration of the Alienation, Anomia and Authoritarianism Domain," American Sociological Review, 30 (October, 1965), 768-775.
- Tumin, Melvin M., and Collins, Roy C. "Status Mobility and Anomie: A Study in Readiness for Desegregation," British Journal of Sociology, 10(1959), 253-267.
- Turabian, Kate L. A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.
- U. S. Bureau of the Census. General Population Characteristics: 1960.
- Waisanen, Frederick B. "A Notation Technique for Scalogram Analysis," Sociological Quarterly, 1, No. 4 (November, 1960), 245-252.





\_\_\_\_\_. "Stability, Alienation and Change," Sociological Quarterly, 4, No. 1 (Winter, 1963), 13-32.

Warner, W. Lloyd, et al. Democracy in Jonesville. New York: Harper, 1949.

\_\_\_\_\_, and Lunt, Paul S. The Status System of a Modern Community. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.

Watson, Walter B., and Barth, Ernest A. T. "Questionable Assumptions in the Theory of Social Stratification," Pacific Sociological Review, 7 (Spring, 1964), 10-16.